

SENATE—Friday, July 27, 1984

(Legislative day of Monday, July 23, 1984)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

All glory and honor and praise to Thee, O God.

Loving Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for life's common blessings. Help us never to take them for granted as though we deserved them more than those who are deprived. We thank Thee for families, homes, friends, good neighbors, and a place of privilege in which to labor. We thank Thee for good food, pure water which we enjoyed yesterday, will enjoy today, and have the prospect of enjoying in our tomorrows. We thank Thee for health and strength, for good minds and sound bodies. May we who always have more than enough of everything remember with compassion those who never have enough of anything.

We pray for the oppressed, the persecuted—for those who are displaced, hungry, and homeless—for children who suffer the tragic effects of malnutrition and their parents who suffer helplessly with them. We remember the unemployed and those experiencing futility. Grant O God, that we who are free from such inhuman indignities may respond in love to those who hurt.

In Jesus' name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, today, after the two leaders and the special order, there will be a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business, and then we will be back on the pending business, which is the Hoover Dam bill, and the pending question will be the Metzenbaum amendment No. 3419.

Cloture has been filed on the motion to concur in the House amendments. That motion will ripen into a vote on Monday, 1 hour after a quorum is established, 1 hour after we convene, unless we change that time.

I have not yet talked to the minority leader about establishing a time that may be more suitable, but I will do that and attempt to set that time on Monday if we do that by noon today.

Mr. President, I do not expect today to be a long day. I do not expect us to finish the Hoover Dam bill either. I wish to, but I do not imagine we will.

We might be able to get to MilCon, the military construction bill, but that was less than probable last evening when the Senate recessed, but for the sake of optimism, let me include that on the list of things we might do.

Beyond that, Mr. President, the leadership on this side will examine the list of available items and see what we can clear to do.

But I would not expect this to be a long day.

SENATOR SPECTER RECEIVES GOLDEN GAVEL AWARD

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, at approximately 4:30 p.m., Thursday, July 26, Senator SPECTER accumulated 100 hours of Chair duty, making him the second recipient of the Golden Gavel Award during the 98th Congress. Senator SPECTER established this record by consistently presiding over the Senate for 2 to 3 hours every week without fail.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. GOLDWATER]. Under the previous order, the Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time reserved for the minority leader be set aside for his use later in the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR PROXMIRE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

WHY A "STAR WARS" PROGRAM IS MORE LIKELY TO BRING NUCLEAR WAR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this is the fourth in my series of replies to Gen. Daniel Graham's seven argu-

ments designed to rebut criticism of the Strategic Defense Initiative or Star Wars. General Graham has framed each of his arguments as a rebuttal to what he regards as the principal objections to the antimissile system. This Senator opposes the Star Wars program for a whole series of reasons. But I am willing to let General Graham select the arguments he considers most serious and answer the Graham rebuttal. General Graham's fourth response was that the critics of the antimissile system called it "provocative and destabilizing."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the fourth part of General Graham's defense of the antimissile system be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT IS "PROVOCATIVE AND DESTABILIZING"

Answer. This is the same old tired argument that was central to the adoption of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) theory in the early 1960's. That theory mandates the vulnerability of populations to nuclear destruction as a positive good. As John Newhouse, supporter and chronicler of MAD put it: "Killing people is good; killing weapons is bad."

To the MADmen, then and now, defending our people is provocative because it would reduce the terribleness of Soviet vengeance if we ever struck them with nuclear weapons, and the sheer terror of it all is their formula for peace!

In conformance with the MAD theory, we have not only dismantled such defenses as we once had, we have failed to apply available technology to the problem of defending ourselves.

If attention to defense of the civil population is indeed "provocative and destabilizing", those who believe so should be greatly provoked by the Soviet Union which has spared no effort to defend its population against nuclear attack.

Massive and constantly upgraded active defense systems exist in the USSR along with a huge Civil Defense program. In fact, the USSR has over the years since we adopted MAD, spent one ruble on strategic defense for every ruble on strategic offense. Part of this has been spent in patent violation of the ABM Treaty.

Small wonder. The Soviets have shown a strong contempt for the mandated vulnerability aspects of the MAD theory from its inception, calling it "bourgeois naivete." Somehow it seems that for the United States to defend its population is provocative; for the Soviets to do so is not.

To argue that strategic defense is destabilizing requires an assumption that today's balance-of-terror is "stable". It is obviously not. Today we move ever closer to a "hair-trigger" launch-on-warning posture wherein accidental launch of a few missiles, a false

signal in communication systems, or erroneous intelligence could set off a catastrophic war. High Frontier will move us away from the instability of MAD toward the stability of Mutual Assured Survival.

To argue that defenses are provocative is to argue that building a castle wall is more provocative than amassing cannon. It makes no sense to logical men and women.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Now how about it? Would a defensive missile system be provocative? Would it make nuclear war more likely or less likely? The answer, of course, depends upon your assumptions. If you assume that a defensive missile system will evoke no change from the other side, if you assume the adversary will simply and quietly accept the technological advantage that will nullify their deterrent, destroy the capability they have built up to retaliate effectively for any attack on their country, then "Star Wars" would not be provocative or destabilizing. But does any informed and sane person really believe that the Russians would accept such an effective abolition of their superpower status? Would we?

Look at it from our standpoint. Would we quietly accept such a Russian coup?

Suppose the Soviet Union were going all out with an antimissile system which we firmly believed would succeed in knocking out our capability to retaliate if they initiated a pre-emptive nuclear strike against this country? Would we accept it? Of course not. No one who has ever occupied the White House, or in all likelihood ever will, would accept such a military coup by the Soviet Union or any other country. We would pour whatever technological and economic resources we needed to overcome such a decisive Soviet advantage. If we would race to win back our balance of military power, does anyone believe the Soviets would not do precisely the same thing. So if we go ahead with "Star Wars" what options will the Soviets have? They can race to do the same. Or they can concentrate primarily on building up their offensive missiles to overcome our budding antimissile defense.

Why would they be most likely to spend their economic and technological resources? Answer: wherever they could get the surest, cheapest, and quickest payoff. And on this one I would bet the old homestead against a confederate dollar they would beef up their offensive missiles. Why not? Our own Defense Department has testified that unless we can persuade the Soviets through arms control agreements to limit their offensive missiles they would be able to overwhelm any antimissile program by simply producing more offensive missiles. A greater number of Soviet offensive missiles alone would defeat "Star Wars," provided only they built enough and, of course, they could. For both the U.S.S.R. and the USA, nuclear weap-

ons constitute a small fraction of total military cost. Both superpowers could easily increase their nuclear offensive power fivefold or tenfold if convinced that national survival depended on it. Of course, if the Soviets concentrated on technological improvements to assure the penetration by their offensive missiles they would have a second option for overcoming the antimissile system.

Third, they could try to build their own antimissile. This would almost certainly be far more costly.

But there is no reason why they could not pursue all three options simultaneously. Having started "Star Wars" and faced with the Russian offensive and perhaps defensive buildup too, how would we respond? This country would know the arms race had entered a new dimension on both fronts. I repeat both—not just the antimissile front but the missile and antimissile front both. The one sure consequence is that the nuclear arms race, having entered the new defensive and space dimension, would continue to escalate more swiftly than ever before. Would this be more or less likely to bring nuclear war? The answer is simple, and very clear.

Of course, such an accelerated arms race would bring a greater likelihood of nuclear war. Why? Because we would be entering an entirely new, unpredictable and uncertain phase of the arms competition. For more than 30 years—ever since both superpowers developed the capability to destroy each other we have lived through a period of uneasy peace between the world's two great powers. Why has a superpower war been avoided for more than 30 years? One dominant reason. Each side knew that if it used nuclear weapons against the other, it would suffer an absolutely certain devastation.

It has been clear for more than 30 years that the initiation of nuclear war by either superpower against the other would be an act of certain suicide. It has been a lead pipe cinch that both countries would perish. Maybe the same result, a standoff, would follow if both countries engage in a trillion-dollar antimissile arms race that would in turn greatly escalate the offensive missile arms race. Maybe peace would continue. Maybe but not certainly. It is that element of uncertainty—the possibility that the Soviet Union might under these circumstances achieve a sudden and decisive and temporary technological breakthrough advantage. Of course, if we achieved that kind of an advantage, I am convinced we would not use it and would not initiate a war. I certainly do not have the same confidence in the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union. And that is what haunts this Senator.

This is why it is so imperative that we stop the nuclear arms race and stop it now with the most far reaching and

comprehensive nuclear arms control measures we can verify. We have to be sure we can verify it and, of course, negotiate it so it is mutual.

LET'S NOT RERUN THE HOLOCAUST

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the National Archives, as part of the commemoration of its 50th anniversary, is showing a film series titled "Films for the 50th—A Documentary Retrospective." These films touch on important aspects of American culture and history over the last 50 years.

Appropriately, one of the recent films was a documentary on the Nazi concentration camps. Even though the atrocities at Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Dachau occurred in Europe, no one can deny that the Holocaust is also part of American history. The genocide that took place was morally an international crime.

The documentary on the Nazi concentration camps, which is titled "Night and Fog," was a French film produced in 1955. From the first frames, showing peaceful landscapes seen from behind the barbed wire of a concentration camp, the viewer is struck by the tragedy of the Holocaust.

"Night and Fog" graphically portrays the horror of Hitler's final solution. It shields the audience from no painful aspect of the Holocaust. Children and old women in wheelchairs are seen herded like cattle into trains with no windows. Hundreds of unwilling passengers were packed in each car. They arrived at one of the many concentration camps, and the narrator reminds us that, "no one will enter more than once."

The archway over the entrance to the camp reads "Work is Freedom," but we soon see that the work expected is only freedom from death—and even then, only for as long as the prisoners can withstand the work.

"Night and Fog" goes on to hit you continuously with horrible images, facts, and figures. Again and again, the viewer is reminded of the immensity of this crime. One stark sequence shows page upon page of names from thick concentration camp registry books. The sheer number of victims is hard to imagine.

The film concludes with a thought-provoking statement: "There are those who pretend this happened once, at a certain time, in a certain place." Let me say that we all should realize that the people who think this are fooling themselves. From Carthage, through the Ottoman Turk's genocide of the Armenians, to the slaughter of Cambodians under the Pol Pot regime, genocide has not just occurred once. And there is no guarantee that it is not happening now and that it will not

happen again. Nothing can guarantee that genocide will not occur again. That is why we must try our best to reduce the risk of genocide.

The ratification of the Genocide Convention by this Senate would be an important step. The horror captured on the film, "Night and Fog," should not be documented again, with different scenery, and new villains and victims.

Let us help assure that it is not.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to extend beyond the hour of 10:30 a.m. with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. GORTON]. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, is morning business still in effect?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is still in morning business but the time for morning business is about to expire.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I would like to be briefly recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

THE SO-CALLED STAR WARS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator from Wisconsin is back on the floor. I was occupying the chair when he had a brief discussion this morning on General Graham's continued comments about the so-called star wars.

This disturbs me, not the remarks, necessarily, of the Senator from Wisconsin, but the whole developing attitude in the House and the Senate in opposition to any research on our part relative to an ability to either intercept Russian satellites that need intercepting or to render useless by the use of electronic devices any satellite that might be doing us damage.

Mr. President, I happen to recall instances in history when the world has been faced with similar propositions and, I would say, equally as dangerous in their consideration at that time. I refer to the advent of gunpowder and great problems internationally; the coming of the tank in World War I, which was supposed to end land warfare; the advent of the aircraft in

World War I, further developed in World War II; the advent of bombing. And against all of these weapons, counterweapons were developed. We continually move forward in our suggested theater of operations. When General Graham discusses the possibilities of war in space, I think we should pay attention to him and all the other people who see in space not only a potential for war but, even beyond that, a very great potential for peace. This is something I cannot discuss on the floor, but we are well along, in my humble opinion, in the development of equipment that can well herald the day of peace. I am not sure whether the Soviets have the same ideas or not, but I have a suspicion that they do.

What we are talking about really when we get into this research on the detection and the apprehension of satellites that we feel need that attention and apprehension is not catastrophic means such as many people think—nuclear arms. That is not included in the thinking of General Graham. For example, to render ineffective one satellite that is in space for the purpose of observation or the purpose of repeating messages from Earth for the detection of infrared would require 1 or 2 watts at the most of laser, which would not destroy the satellite; it would merely render it inoperative.

I think it is a rather sad commentary upon the state of the American mind when we want to limit the research that we have proposed in the development of our ability to take care of satellites that would prove to be disadvantageous to our future or even advantageous to the Soviets in the bringing of war. I recall the Senator from Wisconsin said, and I completely agree with him, that the possibility of nuclear war being started by either of the major powers is very, very remote. But I do believe, and believe very strongly, that we should be allowed to go ahead with the rather limited research which we have asked for—probably as many as 10 experiments a year. We now are limited to two. We have the factor of time that will limit a great number of them. But I hope that both the House and the Senate—and we are, I might say, discussing this very thoroughly in the conference on armed services—would come to an agreement that we could go ahead with the research which is necessary for us to be able to do as we have done in the past, develop antitank weapons, antiaircraft weapons, and so forth and so on.

I merely wanted to make those comments, and I am glad that the Senator was on the floor when I made them.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, are we in morning business now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are still in morning business.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I thank my good friend from Arizona

for his remarks. I think what he says is very prudent. I think we have to recognize the kind of costs we are talking about here. By far the biggest single increase in research and development in the armed services authorization was for this antimissile program. It went from about a billion dollars to about a billion and a half. The administration asked for a 70-percent increase. They tell us that it is going to be \$25 billion over the next 5 years, so it is a huge program, very, very costly. They tell us we will not know until 1992 whether an antimissile system would be practical. Then we will have spent \$50 billion in research and development, and according to Secretary DeLauer the cost will be, he says, staggering. If we look at what he tells us, the cost will be close to one-half trillion dollars.

So I am saying that the cost is very great. I say if we proceed in this defensive missile way, we are going to violate the ABM treaty at one time or another. It may or may not be a good thing to renounce, but it is something we have to recognize.

That means the Soviet Union is going to match what we have done. It will match us not only in defensive missiles but match us in offensive missiles. That means the arms race will step up, the costs will be tremendous, and the uncertainty on both sides will be greater. For that reason, I think the prospects of nuclear war may be greater than they are with the present kind of deterrence we have on both sides.

I am delighted that my good friend from Arizona has spoken up. He is far better versed than this Senator on these military matters. He served for years with great distinction on the Armed Services Committee. He is a real expert in this field, perhaps one of the only two or three experts in the Senate. So I have great faith in what the Senator has to say. But I think we should recognize that we may be moving in the direction of accelerating an arms race which will cost a great deal and will create an uncertainty that is worse than it is now, and perhaps bring nuclear war closer.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I could not agree more with the Senator relative to cost. I queried Dr. DeLauer at great length during one hearing, and at great length several times since, and I have to admit what the Senator has said. He does not know.

We want to do the experimentation that we are now engaged in at a relatively low price in order to be able to tell in a matter of a few years whether we should go ahead with it. I am not standing here saying that we should spend a trillion dollars for this, but the Soviets already have a pretty good ability in this intercept field. I think we have, too. But I would much prefer

to see the Congress take a hands-off position until we know a little bit more about the cost. And Dr. DeLauer will be the first one to say, "I don't know." He has told our committees that he does not know. But the only way we are going to find out is through research and development, and when the time comes then to make the decisions I think we can talk a little bit more intelligently.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it not true, however, that the administration has indicated their program would cost \$25 billion for R&D in this field over the next 5 years?

Mr. GOLDWATER. He said he did not know. Now, he mentioned the figure of \$22 billion as an off the top of the head possibility. But the research I am talking about is an ongoing research that we have been doing.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct absolutely. We have had a billion dollars in research this year in this area.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I say for the safety of our country a billion dollars is not a lot of money. I would rather spend a billion dollars on research for the protection of our country and the whole world, I might say, than throw a billion dollars around on some of the things we throw it around on here.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I thank the Senator.

SOCIAL SECURITY COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS IN 1985

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I was necessarily absent when the vote was called on amendment number 3423, which is intended to assure Social Security recipients that they will receive a cost-of-living increase next year.

If I had been present I would have voted for the well-reasoned approach that was offered by Senator MOYNIHAN, and would have asked to be a cosponsor.

I have been a strong and constant advocate of the needs of Social Security recipients from the program's inception. It was my privilege as a Member of the House of Representatives to affirmatively cast my vote for the original Social Security legislation on April 19, 1935.

It is my belief that Social Security is an example of a Federal Government program that has worked and fulfilled its original promise.

We are advised that the Social Security trust funds are in satisfactory condition and this will allow for the commitment that the Senate has made to the recipients of the Social Security program in 1985. These increases will allow the beneficiaries to keep pace with the rise in prices.

It is encouraging that inflation is at a low level but we must remember the elderly and disabled in most cases are

unable to keep pace with increases in prices, no matter how low they may be.

The further positive action in the Senate guarantees that the Social Security Program will receive a timely COLA on January 1, 1985.

THE RETIREMENT OF MAJ. GEN. ALBERT B. AKERS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Maj. Gen. Albert B. Akers recently retired from the U.S. Army after more than 33 years of distinguished professional service. General Akers graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1951 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant of the artillery. I came to know General Akers during his last assignment, as the commanding general at Fort Jackson, SC. He leaves the Army appreciative of the opportunity he has had to serve his country and to return in some way the education and experience he has received.

It was, indeed, an honor to have worked closely with General Akers on matters of great importance to the State of South Carolina and to our Nation. I know firsthand the positive impact that General Akers' life has had on the military preparedness of our country. The respect and admiration given him has been well earned for his far-reaching achievements and great influence.

As General Akers begins a new era in his life, I believe that he can take great pride in his distinguished career of service to our Nation and rest assured that the flame of freedom burns ever brighter because of his many contributions.

May God bless General Akers and his wife, Mary, with years of happiness and good health. I firmly believe that this happiness is well deserved, as I believe that I am lucky to be able to call Gen. Albert B. Akers my friend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a paper entitled "Fort Jackson Renaissance" be included at the conclusion of my remarks. This paper is a description of the progress and achievements made by General Akers at Fort Jackson, making it the finest Army basic training installation in the United States.

There being no objection, the paper was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT JACKSON RENAISSANCE

At Fort Jackson, the path to excellence has been charted by a Renaissance of high standards involving training, quality of life, service, commitment and discipline. This rebirth of vitality and purpose creates a positive environment in which the "Fort Jackson Team" is molding a cohesive military and civilian community. The Renaissance, more than anything else, is a philosophy of how to train and how to take care of people. It is an all-encompassing surge forward to make Fort Jackson a training center of ex-

cellence and a better place to live and work—where training is tough and demanding because it must be and because it is expected to be—where appearance of the post provides the right backdrop for excellence in training—where better support to the community causes better support by the community—where individual and group pride in accomplishment bring about pride in being a part of the "Fort Jackson Team". In order to move forward on a broad front, innovation was necessary and shaping attitude was the key.

Innovation in training had to be founded on a professional cadre that reflected the meaning of "think, look, and act as a leader." The officer and non-commissioned officer professional development program became our number one priority because a well-trained, competent and disciplined cadre is essential to providing quality soldiers. Included as part of our professional development program was a new initiative called professional guidance which called upon leaders at all levels to teach and apply the morals, values, ethics and traditions unique to the profession of arms.

The Renaissance has had a dramatic impact on the quality of Fort Jackson's training. Initial entry training (IET) is tougher, more demanding and focuses on producing soldiers who are fit to fight and have the positive attitudes necessary to win. We want to develop soldiers who can take orders and accomplish them to exacting standards. Training starts in the Army's largest Reception Station, continues through rigorous Basic Training and does not end until trainees have met or exceeded the demanding standards of Advanced Individual Training. At Fort Jackson, the attitude that trainees must "think, look and act as soldiers—always" is constantly reinforced. Our approach to IET is called the "Total Training Environment" in which everything is viewed as training. Every task, every minute is approached with a positive attitude and a plan to exploit each training opportunity for maximum benefit. Phased training, increased emphasis on conduct and discipline, enhanced standards, tough physical readiness training, common skills reinforcement and testing in AIT, and FTXs for all MOS producing schools are a few of Fort Jackson's training initiatives designed to provide the operating forces with soldiers who are team players immediately ready to contribute to unit mission accomplishment.

Quality of life has been addressed rigorously in Fort Jackson's Renaissance effort. Quality of life means our living and working conditions, our recreational activities and our community services for soldiers, civilian employees and family members. Key programs include the Installation Modernization Program, the Command Sponsorship Program, Task Forces and special activities and events.

The Installation Modernization Program's goal is to modernize the post's facilities in which Fort Jackson's soldiers, their families and civilians work, live and relax. Currently, forty percent of our facilities in use today were constructed during World War II as temporary buildings. These substandard facilities need replacement not only because of the high energy and maintenance costs to maintain operation, but more importantly, because the very visible, deplorable state of these facilities connotes and leads to perceptions of second class citizenship, a lowering of performance and professionalism, and a lack of team spirit and community pride. First rate work and recreation facilities are

the backdrop to good training, and we have made considerable progress in our renovation and construction projects.

Newly completed construction projects include the Alpine Lodge for hunters and fishermen, the Cadence Club for AIT soldiers, the Officers' Club, and the Roller Skating Rink. Key renovations include the Fort Jackson Welcome Center, the Army Community Service facility, the Post Exchange Shopette, the Public Affairs/Media Center, the Fort Jackson Post Office, a major Post Hospital upgrade, and the Post Headquarters, with numerous other facilities in planning for upgrade. New projects either under construction or slated for construction this year include a Guest House, Commissary, Chapel/Child Care Center, Education Center, and EM Club for permanent party soldiers. Conceptually complete is a Soldier Service Center which will provide, under one roof, administrative and financial services for all soldiers to include in-processing and outprocessing of trainees, permanent party, separatees, retirees and their families. The Welcome Center will also become a part of the Soldier Service Center. Effort has been initiated to secure the necessary funds to complete design of the facility and to initiate construction. Across the installation effective management procedures, along with state-of-the-art equipment, such as word processors, sophisticated telephone systems, and computers, have increased the efficiency and teamwork of Fort Jackson operations.

The Command Sponsorship Program is the bridge between the separate but related worlds of training and quality of life. Sponsorship creates a positive environment in which Fort Jackson units share the benefits and responsibility for the success of the various quality of life activities and facilities. Sponsorship of post activities by units establishes the setting for quality training and creates a climate of positive community involvement.

The spirit of community involvement and support also extends to the special activities and events that are held at Fort Jackson. These activities and events link the Fort Jackson community with civilian neighbors in nearby communities. Examples include Torchlight Tattoo on the 4th of July, Volksmarches and the Annual South Carolina Special Olympics.

In short, the Fort Jackson Renaissance represents a dedication to excellence involving training, quality of life, service, discipline and commitment . . . a must for the Army of the 1980s.

TRIBUTE TO COLOMBIA'S "WAR WITHOUT QUARTER"

Mrs. HAWKINS. Mr. President, last month a brave crusader against international drug trafficking was brutally murdered. Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, who had served as Minister of Justice of Colombia, was gunned down by cocaine dealers, due to the Minister's increasingly effective efforts to curb his country's involvement in the drug trade.

The sacrifice this great man has made with his life has not been in vain, however. Colombia has declared a "state of siege" on drug traffickers, and listed below are some of what Colombian authorities have accomplished thus far: 390 persons have

been arrested; 617 houses have been searched; 25 airplanes, 38 trucks and 1 ship have been seized; and 300 tons of marijuana and 164 kilos of cocaine have been confiscated. Colombia is, indeed, waging "War Without Quarter" on drug traffickers.

The reasons for this awakening on the part of Colombia and its citizens to the dangers of drug trafficking are not exclusively related to that nation's collective outrage over Lara Bonilla's assassination. Colombians, increasingly concerned by the growing size, aggressiveness, power, and sheer arrogance of the narcotics organizations, could no longer ignore the fact that their nation was being taken over. For example, the amount of cocaine money that was coming into Colombia had grown to the extent that cocaine dollars were being blamed for wild distortions in the Colombian financial system and even for the failure of one major bank.

Another reason for this increased awareness is the alarming increase in cocaine use by Colombia's young people. The drug networks had encouraged the creation of an internal Colombian market for a cocaine product of low quality, thus not for export—Basuka, a paste of semiprocessed coca leaves suitable for smoking. Their campaign was so successful that Colombian officials believe that this cocaine base is now the most abused stimulant among Colombian youth, and the most dangerous. Not only is it addictive, but it can often create a nightmarish hangover of psychosis.

In their search for profits, then, the Colombian drug dealers do not spare even their own. This internal marketing of cocaine has brought home to the Colombians a problem they once believed was limited to the United States and Europe. With recent developments, however, the Colombians are waking up to the devastating effects of drug trafficking on their society.

It is also obvious that the Colombians will no longer tolerate the violence of the drug underground. In Colombia, there are five guerrilla groups known to be in existence, with more than 10,000 rural and urban fighters. Murders, kidnappings and street crime occur so often in Colombian cities that private bodyguards and armored cars are considered necessities for any family of means. With estimated revenues of \$500 million per year, Colombian cocaine operators are willing to use any means to protect their organizations. That situation has created such lawlessness in Colombia that the citizens of that nation are demanding a return to order.

And it is working. As the editor of Colombia's most widely read newspaper, *El Tiempo*, stated recently:

We are dealing with an inconceivable challenge and a monstrous provocation that

obliges a change in the rules of the game * * * the people demand more authority and an iron fist.

Mr. President, the people and the Government of Colombia should be encouraged and supported in their efforts. It will not be a simple thing to rid their homeland of the scourge of drug dealers, but with the kind of determination exhibited by Rodrigo Lara Bonilla in his short time in office, we know that Colombians can and will be successful in obliterating drug trafficking.

I respectfully request that the enclosed article entitled "Colombia Fights Back After Waking to Ravages of Drug Trade," in the Washington Post, dated May 21, 1984, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 21, 1984]

COLOMBIA FIGHTS BACK AFTER WAKING TO RAVAGES OF DRUG TRADE

(By Jackson Diehl)

BOGOTA, COLOMBIA.—In city slums, teenagers on street corners smoke an addictive raw cocaine base that offers a brief high and often a nightmarish hangover of psychosis.

On the sparsely settled southeastern plains, police discover an "industrial complex" of narcotics: 19 laboratories, 44 buildings, an airstrip with five planes, a power plant and a communications complex. They also discovered 12.5 metric tons of pure cocaine which would be worth up to \$1.2 billion on the street in the United States.

In Bogota, Appeals Court Judge Rodolfo Garcia Ordenez removes a neatly typed, anonymous letter from his top desk drawer. "We order you," it says, "not to intervene again" in the case of a major cocaine trafficker from the commercial center of Medellin. "Otherwise we will be obliged to submit you and your family to a fatal accident," it adds.

These are among the public manifestations of Colombia's vast narcotics underworld. It is a business that during the past five years has grown from an easy-to-ignore illicit traffic with American users to a virtual state-within-a-state maintaining its own public figures, factories and armies here. It is arrogant enough to challenge openly the official leaders of Colombia.

La mafia may have reached its apex on the evening of April 30, when two hired men from Medellin gunned down justice minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, who virtually alone had crusaded against the narcotics trade and tried to warn the country that it was a threat.

Since then, President Belisario Betancur has declared a state of siege and a "war without quarter" on drug traffickers. Authorities have arrested more than 500 suspects. The public in this chronically troubled nation of 27 million seems to have awakened.

"The assassination showed the degree of aggressiveness and arrogance, and the sheer size that the narcotics organizations had arrived at," said Garcia, a former prosecutor of narcotics cases. "It was a shock that caused people to analyze a situation they had not paid much attention to before."

The outrage over the Lara Bonilla killing in part seems to reflect public frustration with decades of rampant violence and rural lawlessness that made Colombia a logical base for smuggling and crime.

Since 1948, when a decade-long civil war known as *la violencia* erupted between Colombia's traditional Liberal and Conservative parties, wide zones of the undeveloped countryside and the backstreets of big cities have ruled by successive bands of guerrillas, smugglers and crime networks.

Today Colombia is plagued by five leftist guerrilla groups with more than 10,000 rural and urban fighters. Murders, kidnappings and street crime are so common in the cities that private bodyguards and around care are considered virtual necessities for any family of means. Medellin, meanwhile, has been a capital of contraband ranging from marijuana, methaqualone and emeralds to illegally imported American cigarettes.

In this vast underworld, the Colombian cocaine organizations, with their huge installations and estimated \$500 million in annual revenues, have become both the dominant powers and the public symbols of national lawlessness.

It was not always that way. The Colombians who began in the late 1970s to establish networks for refining coca leaves grown in Peru and Bolivia into cocaine and shipping it abroad initially seemed to enjoy public indifference and occasional complicity.

The richest of the traffickers in fact became national celebrities, tolerated and even toasted for their eccentric habits and vast wealth. One of the best-known of those accused by the government of conducting the trade, Pablo Escobar Gaviria, was elected to Congress as an alternate delegate in 1982.

Escobar won support around Medellin by donating lighting systems to the stadiums of his favorite soccer teams. On his sprawling ranch, he built artificial lakes and his own airport and stocked a private zoo with exotic animals. One local magazine was even moved to call him the "native Robin Hood." He is now a fugitive.

What has changed national attitudes toward such flamboyant figures has been the increasing influence of the cocaine organizations within traditional institutions and the spread of both drug consumption and violence within the country.

Eager to replace the coca plants smuggled from Peru and Bolivia with local products, the Colombian organizations several years ago began to encourage the expansion of coca growing in Colombia from a few isolated sites to more than 40,000 acres of fields by last year, according to officials here.

While vast tracts of land were thus taken over by the narcotics industry, Colombian coca leaves proved to be of relatively poor quality. So, Colombian authorities say, the drug networks have sought to create an internal market for raw cocaine base, a paste of semi-processed coca leaves suitable for smoking.

The marketing effort has been frighteningly successful. Although no accurate surveys have been done, law enforcement and family-welfare officials believe that cocaine base, or *basuka*, may be the most abused stimulant among Colombian youth—and the most dangerous. Because it is only partly processed, the base is usually laced with impurities, such as gasoline residues, that can cause almost immediate neurological damage among users.

The internal marketing of cocaine brought home a problem that many Colombians once perceived as limited to the United States and Europe. By early this year, meanwhile, the influence of narcotics money seemed to be everywhere. Many experts blame cocaine dollars for wild distortions in the financial system and even the failure of one major bank.

Lara Bonilla charged that narcotics capital was financing six of Colombia's 14 professional soccer teams. In nationwide municipal elections in March, authorities acknowledged that millions of dollars from the traffickers had gone into the campaign funds of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Finally, there was the violence, going beyond gangland slayings among drug traders. Lara Bonilla and U.S. officials charged that Escobar and another alleged trafficker, Carlos Lehder Rivas, helped found a right-wing terrorist group known as Death Kidnappers, which has been blamed for hundreds of assassinations of suspected guerrillas as well as threats and attacks on judges, prosecutors, journalists and politicians opposed to the drug trade.

Evidence revealed this year by Colombian police and U.S. drug enforcement officials indicated that some traffickers had turned from infighting to cooperation with major leftist guerrilla groups. In return for arms and money, U.S. officials charged, some fronts of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces were providing land and high-powered protection to cocaine-processing centers.

The assassination of Lara Bonilla, a promising young leader of the political establishment, seemed to be the last straw.

"We are dealing with an inconceivable challenge and a monstrous provocation that obliges a change in the rules of the game," wrote editor Enrique Santos Calderon in Colombia's most respected newspaper, *El Tiempo*. "The people demand more authority and an iron fist."

TEXTILE IMPORTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I recently read a most disturbing article that appeared in the July 25 edition of the Washington Post concerning fraudulent shipments of textile/apparel products into this country.

The article pointed out several cases where major textile exporting countries have blatantly disregarded existing quotas and textile agreements with the United States in their effort to capture an even greater share of our domestic market. The article quoted the testimony of Thomas Gray, a senior Customs Service agent, who reportedly told the House Commerce Committee that Customs had seized \$19.6 billion in illegally shipped textile products from October 1983 to mid-July of this year. Unfortunately, this amounts to but a small portion of the massive and expanding problem of illegal textile goods shipments.

Textile/apparel imports into this country over the first 5 months of this year are 45 percent higher than the import volume over the same time-frame in 1983. The textile/apparel trade deficit totaled \$6.2 billion over that same period. Needless to say,

these figures represent record increases.

Mr. President, I cannot understand how such rapid import growth could be allowed to take place in contravention of our textile trade agreements and a commitment by President Reagan to keep import growth in line with domestic market expansion and his directions to the White House staff to do this. The textile multifiber arrangement and bilateral trade agreements between the United States and various exporting countries are generally designed to limit the major exporters of textiles to growth rates of between 1½ and 3 percent over the next 4 years. Obviously, these agreements are being totally disregarded by many of our trading partners.

Mr. President, it is time for the present administration to address this problem head on. Steps must be taken immediately to preserve textile jobs in this country. Toward that end, I would recommend the following corrective actions:

First, countries whose exporters disregard textile trade agreements and participate in fraudulent practices should face immediate and substantial reductions in their import quotas.

Second, customs officials should be placed in foreign countries in order to examine U.S.-bound shipments of textile products and to determine the actual country of origin.

Third, a system of import licensing should be implemented so that customs officials can better control the influx of textile products into the United States.

Fourth, anticounterfeiting legislation, passed by the Senate earlier this summer, should be promptly considered and approved by the House of Representatives. This legislation creates a Federal felony and stiffer civil penalties for persons convicted of intentionally trafficking counterfeit goods.

Fifth, textile product labeling legislation, which I introduced to help consumers better identify American-made textile products, and which has also been approved by the Senate, should be considered and passed by the House expeditiously.

Mr. President, while these suggestions pertain primarily to textiles, I wish to remind my colleagues that a similar situation exists today for many industries. Trading partners that continue to deal in less than good faith make it very difficult for our policymakers to support the concept of "free trade."

For these reasons, Mr. President, I again emphasize that efforts must be exerted in order to correct these problems. I offer these suggestions today in hopes that action will be taken by the administration and, where legislation is necessary, by the congressional

committees with jurisdiction over trade, to address these serious problems.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *RECORD* the Washington Post article of July 25, 1984, to which I referred earlier in my statement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 25, 1984]

CUSTOMS SAYS TEXTILES POSE SERIOUS PROBLEM

(By Stuart Anderson)

When they landed in Los Angeles, the bolts of polyester fabric carried "Made in Korea" labels. But on the boxes they were shipped in, the same label had been crudely crossed out and the documents accompanying the shipment declared that the fabric's country of origin was Japan.

That \$2 million shipment was described by a U.S. Customs agent yesterday as a drop in the bucket of a multibillion-dollar scam by countries around the world to beat U.S. textile quotas.

Some countries try to sell textiles and wearing apparel that exceeds their U.S. quotas by transshipping the excess through another country that cannot fill its own quotas, senior Customs agent Thomas Gray told the House Commerce Committee's investigations panel.

Gray, who is based in Hong Kong, said textile products made in China are shipped to the United States under the quotas of Bangladesh, Macao and countries in the Middle East and South and Central America. Similarly, shipments of garments originating in Taiwan sometimes are labeled as coming from Japan, Singapore, the Philippines, South Africa, Panama and countries in the Middle East.

Gray said customs agents discovered Korea's transshipment of the polyester fabric through Japan six months ago and have been seizing illegally labeled cartons of the products ever since.

"They didn't even bother to repack it," said a somewhat nonplused subcommittee Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.). "They just lined out the country of origin. That indicates a certain supreme contempt for American enforcement."

Gray replied that that case showed unusually "sloppy" work. "They are very clever," he said.

Although he declined to put a precise dollar figure on the fraudulent playing with textile quotas, Gray said customs agents are currently investigating cases involving \$2.5 billion of shipments. From last October to mid-July, Customs officials said they had seized \$19.6 billion in illegally shipped textile products.

The increased level of seizures comes as the American textile industry is pressing the Reagan administration to tighten up even more on imports, which hit a record high of 4 billion square yards—an increase of 45 percent—during the first five months of this year. The United States' textile trade deficit totaled \$6.2 billion in that period.

U.S. manufacturers and labor unions this week filed unfair trade cases against 11 countries—Panama, Colombia, Argentina, Indonesia, Malaysia, Peru, Portugal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Turkey—and said other complaints will be filed against Mexico and the Philippines.

Running down the list of America's major textile suppliers in the Pacific Rim, Gray said:

Taiwan, the largest supplier of apparel to the United States, is likely to remain a problem as the quota system exists.

South Korea, which has just moved up as the No. 2 supplier, runs a gamut of fraudulent activities that includes transshipping textiles, counterfeiting of trademarks and brand name products, and misdirecting and undervaluing merchandise to evade customs duties. Korean transshipments go through Japan, the Middle East and Panama.

Hong Kong, the No. 3 supplier, cooperates better than any other country with U.S. authorities to prevent fraud. Nevertheless, with its booming textiles industry, it is "a primary source of transshipments."

China, the giant of the Pacific Rim that has emerged as the fourth-largest supplier of textiles to the United States, is known for transshipping its excess production through a number of countries.

Japan, No. 5 among major U.S. suppliers, serves as a transshipment point for products originating in Korea, Taiwan and Macao.

Singapore, which offers U.S. authorities "the lowest level of cooperation" in the Asian region, serves as a base for the transshipment of acrylic knit sweaters and cotton and synthetic jackets from Taiwan, and for other apparel from Malaysia and China.

Sri Lanka strictly monitors its own industry, so a "Made in Sri Lanka" label means it is the country of origin.

India, whose government "makes nice gestures but is not very cooperative with U.S. authorities," is a source of textiles transshipped through neighboring nations of Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh.

Bangladesh, with a new textile industry that first moved into the U.S. market in 1982, is increasing exports to get larger quotas, currently serves as a transshipment point for shorts and pants that are made in China.

Pakistan transships towels and similar products and poses problems as a source of undervalued and misdescribed goods.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Saunders, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Acting President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations and a treaty message which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations and treaty message received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

ANNUAL REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES UNDER THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 160

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following mes-

sage from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 26 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-596), I transmit herewith the 1983 annual reports on the activities under that law of the Department of Labor, of the Department of Health and Human Services, and of the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 27, 1984.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The Committee on the Judiciary was discharged from the further consideration of the following joint resolution; which was placed on the calendar:

H.J. Res. 577. Joint resolution designating August 1984, as "Polish American Heritage Month."

MEASURE HELD AT THE DESK

By unanimous consent, the following bill was ordered held at the desk until the close of business on July 30, 1984:

H.R. 5890. An act to establish a commission to assist in the first observance of the Federal legal holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3598. A communication from the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Agency for calendar year 1983; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3599. A communication from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the midyear monetary policy report of the Board dated July 25, 1984; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3600. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Nuclear Waste Management and the Use of the Sea"; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3601. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a delay in preparing the required comprehensive Mission Plan; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3602. A communication from the Acting Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the situation of El

Salvador; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-3603. A communication from the Director of the Office of Information Resources Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a new Privacy Act system of records; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3604. A communication from the Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the Commission on the administration of the Government in the Sunshine Act for calendar year 1983; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3605. A communication from the Secretary of the Postal Rate Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of the postponement of a prehearing conference; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3606. A communication from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of the reports issued by the General Accounting Office during June 1984; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-3607. A communication from the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the emergency appointment of bankruptcy judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-3608. A communication from the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the number of waivers of the provisions of section 207(c)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act for fiscal year 1984; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-719. A resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Armed Services.

"HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 18

"Whereas, the people of the state of Louisiana are dedicated to the concept of world peace; and

"Whereas, the present trend toward mutually assured destruction characterized by the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union is an ever present threat to world peace; and

"Whereas, there exists developing technology which in the future will provide for construction of a nonnuclear defense system to protect the United States against a nuclear first strike by the Soviet Union or any other hostile power; and

"Whereas, this system, commonly known as "High Frontier" technology, involves the use of satellites to intercept and destroy nuclear missiles targeted at the United States or at the territories of its allies; and

"Whereas, the use of such a system would not mean that the nuclear retaliatory capabilities of the United States would be abandoned or neglected; and

"Whereas, the United States can take the first step in efforts to assure world peace and mutual assured survival while continuing to protect its people from the threat of nuclear war through the use of "High Frontier" technology.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana that Congress is hereby memorialized to

take the initial step toward achieving world peace and mutual assured survival by active pursuit of the concept of "High Frontier" technology as an effective means of eliminating the threat to world peace caused by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

"Be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of the Louisiana Congressional delegation."

POM-720. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Illinois; to the Committee on Armed Services.

"SENATE RESOLUTION No. 719

"Whereas, the Joliet Arsenal is a 26,000 acre federally owned facility which has a long history of providing substantial and significant contributions to America's national defense, both during times of war and peace; and

"Whereas, this vast resource, which is strategically located near two interstate highways systems, rail and water transportation systems, and major metropolitan areas, remains virtually idle, and reactivation of the Joliet Arsenal should be seriously considered; and

"Whereas, the maximum utilization of the Joliet Arsenal would not only be an efficient and tax-saving use of existing facilities, but would also be a clear demonstration of a federal capacity to respond to acute local needs by replacing hundreds of dispossessed jobs and easing, particularly in the Joliet area, oppressive unemployment of staggering proportions; and

"Whereas, the Arsenal Task Force has listed five priorities concerning the reactivation of the Arsenal: federal funds, starting in 1985, to upgrade the physical structure of the plant and to create jobs; support of 4 ammunition production contracts that Honeywell is bidding for; transfer of 160 acres of land from the Army so the Joliet Regional Port District can develop a port authority; establishment of an ordinance training school, where military would train in the use of military equipment and ammunition; and production of high-powered explosives; and

"Whereas, the State of Illinois, which suffers a massive tax imbalance with Washington and a disproportionate share of the economic burden caused by the recent recession, hopes that it will receive a more equitable and commensurate share of federal economic stimulus as the Congress, along with the Department of Defense, concurs on the inherent and overwhelming advantages that the Joliet Arsenal offers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Senate of the Eighty-Third General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we hereby petition President Ronald Reagan, the United States Congress, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and the Illinois Congressional Delegation to support all efforts to reactivate the Joliet Arsenal; and be it further

"Resolved, That a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, each member of the Illinois Congressional Delegation, and the Secretary of Defense."

POM-721. A resolution adopted by the Southeastern Regional Council of the Na-

tional Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials relating to public housing; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

POM-722. A resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia urging Congress to approve the compact of free association and its related agreements entered into between the government of the Federated States of Micronesia and Government of the United States of America; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

POM-723. A resolution adopted by the council of the county of Hawaii urging Congress to acknowledge the illegal and immoral actions of the United States in the overthrow of the kingdom of Hawaii and grant restitution for losses and damages suffered by native Hawaiians as a result of those actions; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

POM-724. A resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

"RESOLUTION

"Whereas, United States Congressman Dale Kildee, along with a number of other Michigan congressional representatives, has recently introduced into Congress a bill which would designate 90,300 acres in three of our state's national forests as national wilderness areas. This designation will cut off any commercial use of this vast expanse of land and will highly restrict its use for recreational purposes. Moreover, it is over and above the wilderness areas already designated by Michigan state government in the Upper Peninsula; and

"Whereas, the multiple use of forest products is now the basis of the economy of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. This proposed designation, then, will add to the unemployment problems in the State of Michigan and will restrict economic growth, particularly in the western end of the Upper Peninsula where welfare case loads and unemployment rank the highest in Michigan; and

"Whereas, additionally, there seems to be a widely-held misconception that the designation of forest lands as wilderness areas contributes to the tourism industry. Tourism in Michigan, however, is largely based on the use of forest lands, not on the restriction of them. Moreover, the wilderness area concept is not as conducive to good wildlife management as many believe. Well managed and maintained forests provide the cover, feed, and shelter which wildlife requires to exist; and

"Whereas, it would be far better if Congressman Kildee and the other sponsors of this ill-conceived legislation were to pay more attention to creating employment in their own districts rather than enacting legislation which would cause increased unemployment in the Upper Peninsula. Congressman Kildee, along with the supporters of this legislation, have never provided for the economic development of, and jobs in, Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Legislation to restrict the multiple use of these lands will only add to the misery and suffering of individuals who live in the Upper Peninsula; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate, That the members of the Michigan Legislature hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States not to create additional wilderness area in Michigan's Upper Peninsula; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation."

POM-725. A joint resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 55"

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was originally completed in 1923 and dedicated to the American dead of World War I; and

"Whereas, the Coliseum was conceived and financed by local civic groups as a 75,000 seat multi-purpose stadium to serve the people of the Great Los Angeles Region; and

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was partially reconstructed and enlarged to seat 101,574 spectators for the 1932 Summer Olympic Games of the Xth Olympiad, and has since witnessed many other significant sports, as well as political and historical events; and

"Whereas, the Coliseum was both originally designed and later redesigned by one of the pioneer architects of California, John Parkinson, with his son Donald B. Parkinson, whose many Los Angeles buildings of the early 20th Century are now nationally registered historical sites; and

"Whereas, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was successfully nominated by The American Institute of Architects, and co-sponsored by the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission and the University of Southern California, as California Registered Historical Landmark No. 960, and has been nominated and cosponsored by those organizations as a National Historic Landmark; and

"Whereas, the Coliseum will become the first Olympic stadium in the world to host two official modern Summer Olympic Games when the XXIIIrd Olympiad opens there on July 28, 1984; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California endorses the nomination of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum as a National Historic Landmark and memorializes the Secretary of the Interior to expeditiously make that designation in order that the dedication ceremonies may be held on the opening day of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles, July 28, 1984; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-726. A concurrent resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Finance.

"HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 204"

"Whereas, this nation has a responsibility to aid the less fortunate including the needy, deprived children who are as much a part of the future of this nation as are the children reared in a more economically stable environment; the elderly; and those who, due to physical, mental, or educational handicaps, economic conditions, or child care responsibilities, are unable to provide for themselves and their families; and

"Whereas, with so many people out of work and many of them exhausting unemployment benefits every day, programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, General Assistance, Food Stamps, and programs for the medically needy become the last defense against utter destitution for families and individuals; and

"Whereas, the need to reduce the federal deficit should no longer be used to argue for further erosion of welfare programs, nor should states and localities, most of which are under serious financial strain themselves, be forced, through their own welfare programs, to compensate for a national economic policy that has largely been indifferent to unemployment and the misery we call poverty; and

"Whereas, since additional cuts in current welfare programs would be truly devastating but there is still a need for more assistance with available dollars, it is therefore critical that federal government begin seeking out innovative ways of dealing with these very grave problems, ways in which welfare dollars can be more effectively spent for the benefit of those in need; and

"Whereas, because statistics show that the State of Louisiana has a very high population of poor people; ranks near to the last among the fifty states in its AFDC flat grant amount, and has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world (12.9%), the state would be an ideal environment for pilot programs for innovative welfare reform approaches instituted by the federal government.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the legislature does hereby urge and request the Congress of the United States to initiate and pursue innovative welfare reform programs, and also requests that the Louisiana congressional delegation aggressively pursue designation for Louisiana as a pilot state for appropriate new welfare reform approaches initiated by Congress.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the secretary of the United States Senate, the clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of the Louisiana congressional delegation."

POM-727. A resolution adopted by the City Council of Beaumont, TX, relating to Texas Highway 87; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

POM-728. A joint resolution adopted by the legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 51"

"Whereas, the Environmental Protection Agency is currently considering the possibility of burning hazardous wastes in incinerator ships off California's coast; and

"Whereas, the legal jurisdiction and enforcement responsibility in international waters is unclear and, to date, no regulations for incineration of hazardous wastes at sea have been adopted; and

"Whereas, no substantial research has yet been completed on the potential short-term or cumulative long-term effects of this incineration proposal and neither have any risk assessments been completed; and

"Whereas, spills or leakages of raw waste from an incineration vessel could cause considerable adverse economic and environmental consequences; and

"Whereas, a hazardous waste spill could occur or hazardous wastes could be dumped

in an emergency, releasing highly persistent, toxic compounds which would sink to the bottom of the ocean, contaminating the entire water column and the marine life therein; and

"Whereas, the practice of ocean incineration does not provide for complete destruction of any hazardous waste, thus allowing unburned materials or dangerous emissions to escape onto the microlayer of the ocean, poisoning organisms and fish and possibly moving up the food chain; and

"Whereas, hydrochloric acid, which is sometimes released in the burning process, could contribute to the formation of acid fog and acid rain; and

"Whereas, the technical capability to incinerate hazardous waste remains unknown, including the ability to maintain a constant temperature of at least 2,400° F for long periods of time, and it would be difficult to monitor the technical burning process at sea; and

"Whereas, transporting the waste materials to incineration sites would also present risks of catastrophic damage to the marine and coastal environments; and

"Whereas, additional unknown and significant adverse effects may also exist but are not clear, due to the lack of information; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President of the United States to direct the Environmental Protection Agency to stop considering any proposals to incinerate hazardous waste off California's coast, until valid and reliable scientific studies have proven that the environmental effects of this proposal would be negligible; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-729. A joint resolution adopted by the Ashland (Kentucky) Area Labor/Management Committee relating to the Fair Trade in Steel Act; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-730. A resolution adopted by the Michigan Council of Senior Citizens, Inc. relating to Medicare Funds; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-731. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 52"

"Whereas, canned tuna imports have increased 128 percent in the past five years; and

"Whereas, between 1981 and 1983, tuna imports have increased about 73 percent; and

"Whereas, in 1983, imports gained 40 percent, and, so far in 1984, imports are increasing over 1983; and

"Whereas, since 1981, employment in the California tuna industry has declined 23 percent, and over 4,000 people have lost their jobs; and

"Whereas, between 1981 and 1982, the cannery processing capacity for tuna has declined over 16 percent, and over 20 percent of the vessels in the tuna fleet are idle or underutilized; and

"Whereas, the amount of tuna packed in water was aggressively promoted by domestic canners and has reached a majority of the present market, but the tariff rate on water-packed tuna is only 6 percent compared to the tariff rate of 35 percent on oil-packed tuna, which has created a tariff loophole through which foreign packers in 1983 imported into the domestic market over 290 million cans of water-packed tuna; and

"Whereas, the California tuna industry has petitioned the United States International Trade Commission for relief from the increasing flow of imported canned tuna in water from foreign packers; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature respectfully memorializes the President, the Congress, and the United States International Trade Commission to provide immediate relief to the tuna industry of California and this nation from the ever increasing flow of imported canned tuna in water by, among other methods, adjusting appropriate tariff rates; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the United States International Trade Commission, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-732. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 104

"Whereas, the federal Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance program, established pursuant to Title 2 of the federal Social Security Act (42 USC Sec. 401 et seq.), was established in order to provide, among other persons, the elderly with an adequate income to meet basic needs and live in a dignified manner; and

"Whereas, persons who have a similar wage history receive greater old age benefits under this program if they reach age 62 during, or prior to, 1978, than if they reach age 62 after 1978; and

"Whereas, several bills have been introduced in the United States Congress to alleviate this disparity, including H.R. 4093, introduced by California Congressman Edward Roybal; and

"Whereas, it is clearly unjust to permit persons reaching age 62 after 1978 to continue receiving as much as \$100 per month less in benefits than those persons with similar wage histories reaching that age during, or prior to, 1978; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature hereby memorializes the Congress and President of the United States to enact legislation equalizing the old age benefit levels received under the Social Security program by all persons with similar wage histories, regardless of the date when they become age 62, and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution shall be transmitted to the Chief Clerk of the Assembly to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Senator and Representative in the California congressional delegation."

POM-733. A joint resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina; to the Committee on Finance.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 825

"Whereas, changes in federal policy implemented in 1981 have led to the termination of thousands of North Carolinians formerly receiving Social Security disability benefits; and

"Whereas, over two-thirds of those who appealed their terminations were found to have been unlawfully denied benefits; and

"Whereas, North Carolina has placed a moratorium on terminations by a 1983 Executive Order which remains in place; and

"Whereas, much needed comprehensive reform legislation has been introduced and is being considered in both the United States Senate and House of Representatives; Now, therefore, Be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring:

"Section 1. The North Carolina General Assembly requests that the delegation to the United States Senate and House of Representatives from North Carolina use every available means to assure that meaningful reform legislation is passed to protect the rights of the disabled under both Title II and Title XVI of the Social Security Act.

"Sec. 2. The North Carolina General Assembly recommends that such reform legislation include:

"(1) A requirement that the Social Security Administration demonstrate a clear improvement in a claimant's medical condition before terminating disability benefits;

"(2) The continuation of a terminated claimant's benefits through appeal to the Appeals Council;

"(3) Improvements in Continuing Disability Review procedures;

"(4) A mandate to consider all available medical evidence in the consideration of both initial claims and terminations; and

"(5) A requirement that the Social Security Administration promulgate all disability standards in the form of regulations, subject to public notice and comment.

"Sec. 3. The North Carolina General Assembly urges that the President of the United States take all steps necessary to ensure passage of meaningful reform legislation regarding Title II and Title XVI of the Social Security Act.

"Sec. 4. The Secretary of State shall send a certified copy of this resolution to each member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives representing North Carolina, to the Secretary of the United States Senate and Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to the President of the United States.

"Sec. 5. This resolution is effective upon ratification.

"In the General Assembly read three times and ratified, this the 26th day of June, 1984."

POM-734. A resolution adopted by the Pan-Macedonian Association of the United States and Canada relating to military aid to Turkey; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

POM-735. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

"HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 61

"Whereas, on August 31, 1983, Soviet war planes shot down a Korean commercial airliner, killing United States Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia and two hun-

dred sixty-eight other innocent citizens, thus demonstrating a barbaric and despicable use of military power without provocation; and

"Whereas, the Soviets have suppressed democratic movements in their client states including the use of armed forces in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Poland (1982); and

"Whereas, communist governments in approximately thirty countries have ruled for a combined total of nearly seven hundred years without a peaceful transition of democracy in any nation; and

"Whereas, of the twelve wars waged in 1982, ten involved Soviet-backed troops; and

"Whereas, the Soviets or their client states have destroyed free trade unions everywhere including, most recently, Solidarity in Poland and the free trade union in Nicaragua; and

"Whereas, the Soviet Union has continued to escalate development and deployment of its military forces; and

"Whereas, the Louisiana Legislature finds and declares that the Soviet Union is the greatest threat to peace, freedom, and democracy in the world today.

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the Legislature of the state of Louisiana condemns aggression by the Soviet Union and urges the President and Congress of the United States, and Olympic Games officials to take appropriate action to oppose Soviet aggression and to take specific actions in regard to participation of the Soviet Union in the 1984 Olympic Games, including but not limited to:

"(1) That the International Olympic Committee request the Soviet Union to withdraw voluntarily from the 1984 Games to prevent any potential outside acts of violence and terrorism directed against the aggression of the Soviet Union that could injure or kill innocent athletes from any country, as well as Olympic spectators and disinterested American citizens and foreign visitors;

"(2) That the Congress, the President, and Olympic officials support the formation of a Human Rights Monitoring Committee composed of international human rights groups, to ensure compliance by all Olympic committees with the Helsinki Accords, the United Nations Protocol on Status of Refugees, and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to protect the human rights of Olympic participants, including rights of defection and political asylum;

"(3) That the President and the Congress prevent the approval of request by the Soviet Olympic Committee to land twenty-five Aeroflot planes, dock a cruise ship, or let Soviet journalists have unrestricted travel privilege during the Olympic Games, in order to prevent KGB agents and operatives from carrying out spy activities and electronic surveillance of U.S. defense capabilities;

"(4) That the United States Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee institute the strictest drug testing procedures available to detect the use of all types of performance enhancement drugs, including somatropin (HGH, STH), by Olympic athletes, and to automatically disqualify any athletes discovered using such drugs;

"(5) That the United States Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee not make any special accommodations, event location changes, or

transportation arrangements for the Soviet Union or Eastern Bloc countries at pre-Olympic sporting events or at the Olympic Games which are not ordinarily provided to all Olympic participating countries, unless the requesting country pays in advance for any such approved arrangements;

"(6) That the International Olympic Committee, the United States Olympic Committee, and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee appoint Olympic referees and judges from all participating countries without showing preferential treatment or 'stacking' of referees and judges in favor of the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries;

"(7) That the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee renegotiate its unsigned contract with the Soviet-Eastern Bloc's Organization of International Radio and Television to ensure that these countries pay an equitable amount for their Olympic broadcast rights.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Clerk of the Louisiana House of Representatives transmit copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and the President of the United States Senate, to each Senator and Representative from Louisiana in the Congress of the United States, the International Olympic Committee, the United States Olympic Committee, and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee."

POM-736. A resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

"HOUSE BILL No. 1164

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Laws of Maryland read as follows:*

ARTICLE—TRANSPORTATION

"(a) The Authority is authorized to establish and maintain a regular police force, to be known as the metro transit police, to provide protection for its patrons, personnel, and transit facilities. The metro transit police shall have the powers and duties and shall be subject to the limitations set forth in this section. It shall be composed of both uniformed and plainclothes personnel and shall be charged with the duty of enforcing the laws of the signatories, and the laws, ordinances and regulations of the political subdivisions thereof in the transit zone, and the rules and regulations of the Authority. The jurisdiction of the metro transit police shall be limited to all the transit facilities (including bus stops) owned, controlled or operated by the Authority, but this restriction shall not limit the power of the metro transit police to make arrests in the transit zone for violations committed upon, to or against such transit facilities committed from within or outside such transit facilities, while in hot or close pursuit or to execute traffic citations and criminal process in accordance with subsection (c) below. The members of the metro transit police shall have concurrent jurisdiction in the performance of their duties with the duly constituted law enforcement agencies of the signatories and of the political subdivisions thereof in which any transit facility of the Authority is located or in which the Authority operates any transit service. Nothing contained in this section shall either relieve any signatory or political subdivision or agency thereof from its duty to provide police, fire and other public safety service and protection, or limit, restrict or interfere with the

jurisdiction of or the performance of duties by the existing police, fire and other public safety agencies. For purposes of this section, "bus stop" means that area within 150 feet of a metrobus bus stop sign, excluding the interior of any building not owned, controlled, or operated by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

"(b)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, a member of the metro transit police shall have the same powers, including the power of arrest, and shall be subject to the same limitations, including regulatory limitations, in the performance of his duties as a member of the duly constituted police force of the political subdivision in which the metro transit police member is engaged in the performance of his duties. However, a member of the metro transit police is authorized to carry and use only such weapons, including handguns, as are issued by the Authority. . . .

(c) Members of the metro transit police shall have power to execute on the transit facilities owned, controlled, or operated by the Authority any traffic citation or any criminal process issued by any court of any signatory or of any political subdivision of a signatory, for any felony, misdemeanor or other offense against laws, ordinances, rules, or regulations of the Authority, or of the signatory or its political subdivision as specified in subsection (a). With respect to offenses committed upon, to, or against the transit facilities owned, controlled or operated by the Authority, the metro transit police shall have power to execute criminal process within the transit zone.

(d) Upon the apprehension or arrest of any person by a member of the metro transit police pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b), the arresting officer, as required by the law of the place of arrest, shall either issue a summons or a citation against the person, or book or deliver the person to the duly constituted judicial officer of the signatory or political subdivision where the arrest is made, for disposition as required by law.

(e) The Authority shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the safe, convenient and orderly use of the transit facilities, including the payment and the manner of the payment of fares or charges; therefor, the protection of the transit facilities, the control of traffic and parking upon the transit facilities, and the safety and protection of the riding public. In the event that any such rules and regulations contravene the laws, ordinances or regulations or police operational rules of a signatory or any political subdivision thereof which are existing or subsequently enacted, these laws, ordinances or regulations of the signatory or the political subdivision shall apply and the conflicting rule or regulation, or portion thereof, of the Authority shall be void within the jurisdiction of that signatory or political subdivision. In all other respects, the rules and regulations of the Authority shall be uniform throughout the transit zone. The rules and regulations adopted by WMATA will be adopted by the board following public hearings held in accordance with § 15 supra and then shall be published by the political subdivisions of the signatories in the same manner as their respective local ordinances are published. Judges and clerks of the several courts having jurisdiction in the signatories and their political subdivisions shall have the authority to impose, collect, and enforce penalties for failure to pay fines for violation of such rules and regulations in the

same manner as fines are imposed, collected, and enforced in the respective signatories or political subdivisions. Any person violating any rule or regulation of the Authority shall be subject to arrest and, upon conviction by a court of competent jurisdiction, shall pay a fine of not more than \$250 and costs, and, upon further order of the court, shall reimburse WMATA for any loss or damage resulting from the violation.

(f) With respect to members of the metro transit police, the Authority shall

(1) Establish classifications based on the nature and scope of duties, and fix and provide for their qualifications, appointment, removal, tenure, term, compensation, pension and retirement benefits;

(2) Provide for their training and, for this purpose, the Authority may enter into contracts or agreements with any public or private organization engaged in police training, and this training and the qualifications of the uniformed and plainclothes personnel shall at least equal the requirements of each signatory and of the political subdivisions therein in the transit zone for their personnel performing comparable duties; and

(3) Prescribe distinctive uniforms to be worn.

(g) The Authority shall have the power to enter into agreements with the signatories, the political subdivisions thereof in the transit zone and public safety agencies located therein, including those of the federal government, for the delineation of the functions and responsibilities of the metro transit police and other duly constituted police, fire and other public safety agencies, and for mutual assistance.

(h) Before entering upon the duties of office, each member of the metro transit police shall take or subscribe to an oath or affirmation, before a person authorized to administer oaths, faithfully to perform the duties of that office.

SECTION 2. *And be it further enacted, That this Act shall take effect July 1, 1984.*

POM-737. A resolution adopted by the International Institute of Municipal Clerks relating to registration and polling places used in federal election be accessible to the handicapped and elderly persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

POM-738. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 49

"Whereas, the Ninety-Fifth Congress of the United States of America at the second session, in both houses, by a constitutional majority of two-thirds thereof, adopted the following proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States of America in the following words, to wit:

"JOINT RESOLUTION

"Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for representation of the District of Columbia in the Congress.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to Congress:

"ARTICLE —

"Section 1. For purpose of representation in the Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and Article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.

"Section 2. The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be provided by the Congress.

"Section 3. The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

"Section 4. This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission."

"Therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Louisiana, the Senate thereof concurring, that the Legislature of the state of Louisiana does hereby ratify the foregoing proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

"Be it further resolved that certified copies of this Resolution shall be forwarded to the administration of General Services, Washington, D.C., and to the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States."

POM-739. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 134

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States has designated July 20, 1984, as National POW/MIA Recognition Day; and

"Whereas, the Governor has designated the week of July 15 to 20, 1984, as POW/MIA Week; and

"Whereas, the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia is continuing its efforts for the return of its members' husbands, sons, and brothers; and

"Whereas, the Viet Vet House from its inception has a primary mandate that, "... the Vietnam War ends when the dying at home stops, the nightmares are laid to rest, the legacy of physical and emotional concerns are addressed, the 2,500 POW/MIAs are accounted for, and the business of living is gotten on with pride, honor, and dignity for all ..."; and

"Whereas, the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia will be coordinating a national balloon release together with other veterans groups and agencies on July 20, 1984, and the Viet Vet House will be the local sponsor for the National League of Families in Sacramento; and

"Whereas, at 1 p.m. on July 20, 1984, the Viet Vet House will release 2,238 red, white, and blue balloons and 250 gold balloons from the west steps of the State Capitol to represent the 2,488 men still unaccounted for in Southeast Asia; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of California proclaims July 20, 1984, as a special day of recognition for the 250 California POW/MIAs still held unaccounted for by the countries of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam and a day of national remembrance for the 2,488 men still missing; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature supports the federal government's efforts to expedite the recovery and return of the remains of dead POW/MIAs currently being held by the governments of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, and to secure the release of all POW/MIAs still alive and held by those governments; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the governments of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, to the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, and to the Viet Vet House."

POM-740. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 108

"Whereas, in 1983, UCLA graduate Peter Franklin was the first quadriplegic admitted to a California medical school; and

"Whereas, he was subjected to four months of struggle with the State Department of Rehabilitation which initially refused to grant him the financial aid needed by him to attend medical school; and

"Whereas, the state department initially urged Franklin to seek a career as a research assistant which it deemed a more fitting form of entry level employment; and

"Whereas, there currently is no existing, uniform federal definition of 'entry level employment'; and

"Whereas, the absence of such a definition allows state and federal assistance sources for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training to push entry level support to the lowest possible level, which tends to discourage individuals with disabilities from seeking their highest potential; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California encourages persons with disabilities to seek their highest potential at all times despite physical and social obstacles; and be it further

"Resolved, That when state and federal assistance for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training to persons with disabilities is predicated on entry level employment, that that employment be defined on the basis of an assessment of the individual's skills, aptitude, and abilities in order to assist and encourage the individual in reaching his or her highest potential; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President, the Congress of the United States, the Department of Education and the Commissioner of Rehabilitation Services to define "entry level employment" as it pertains to persons with disabilities seeking state and federal assistance for education, rehabilitation, and vocational training, and to promulgate regulations to ensure the uniform application of this definition throughout the United States so that it will serve to motivate individuals with disabilities to seek their highest potential; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House

of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, the Department of Education, and the Commissioner of Rehabilitation Services."

POM-741. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION No. 68

"Whereas, the California Department Commanders Veterans Council unanimously agreed that a new national cemetery should be established by the United States near San Luis Dam near the City of Los Banos, California; and

"Whereas, this proposal has been concurred with by the American Legion Department of California, the Council of Administration of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the State of California, and the national and state bodies of the American G.I. Forum of the United States; and

"Whereas, a public-spirited citizen is willing to donate, deed, and dedicate approximately 350 acres of land adjacent to the San Luis Reservoir for a national cemetery; and

"Whereas, the San Luis site is adjacent to a California state park, assuring the site will not be overrun with commercial or residential development; is located in the center of the state, with major highways giving easy accessibility to the site; is in reasonable proximity to eight commercial airports; is located a reasonable distance to four military installations, and is readily accessible to California veterans, as well as more than two million veterans living in the 10 other western states; and

"Whereas, the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, has 2,000 acre-feet of water available for use by the national cemetery from the San Luis Dam, now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to establish a national cemetery near San Luis Dam near the City of Los Banos, California; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-742. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

"RESOLUTION

"Whereas, time spent in military service gives veterans an opportunity to gain technical skills, experience and good work habits that are transferable to the civilian job market; and

"Whereas, veterans continue to have higher unemployment and remain out of work longer than other groups, despite the need for well-trained employees in growth industries and in occupations requiring technological skills; and

"Whereas, the Emergency Veterans' Job Training Act of 1983, was enacted to help America's business community build more capable, productive workforces by reimbursing employers for hiring and training eligible Korean Conflict and Vietnam-era veterans; and

"Whereas, when the Emergency Veterans' Job Training Act of 1983 is fully implemented, it will represent a major and positive step toward helping the American business community fill the jobs being created by new technology and an expanding economy; and

"Whereas, providing jobless veterans with new opportunities for permanent, private-sector employment is one of the greatest tributes we can pay to individuals who served well and sacrificed much during difficult periods in our Nation's history; therefore be it

Resolved, that the Senate of Pennsylvania designate the month of June, 1984, as "Hire a Vet Month," in recognition of the cooperation among the Department of Labor, the Veterans' Administration and the Nation's business community in developing employment and training opportunities for our veterans; and be it further

Resolved, that copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officers of each house of Congress and to each member of Congress from Pennsylvania."

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. MELCHER (for himself and Mr. DeCONCINI):

S. 2879. A bill to provide for cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and Indian tribes with respect to the regulation of coal mining operations on Indian reservation lands and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines on such land, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. JEPSEN:

S. Res. 425. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the Joint Committee print entitled "Industrial Policy Movement in the United States: Is It the Answer?"; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MELCHER (for himself, and Mr. DeCONCINI):

S. 2879. A bill to provide for cooperation between the Secretary of the Interior and Indian tribes with respect to the regulation of coal mining operations on Indian reservation lands and the acquisition and reclamation of abandoned mines on such land, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

INDIAN COAL MINING REGULATORY ACT OF 1984

● Mr. MELCHER. Mr. President, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977, called for a special study by the Secretary of the Interior in consultation with Indian tribes for strip mining coal on their own lands.

The study included "proposed legislation designed to allow Indian tribes to elect to assume full regulatory authority over the administration and enforcement of regulations of surface mining of coal on Indian lands." This requirement in section 710 of the act was completed over a year ago.

After reviewing the Secretary's study, I am today introducing legislation to implement Indian regulation of surface coal mining operations and activities on Indian lands. As much as possible this bill is adapted to place Indian tribes that have now or will have in the future coal strip mine operations on their own land to have the same rights or to be in the same position as the States with the option to run their own reclamation program. If the tribes do not exercise that option of running an approved reclamation program, then the Secretary of the Interior will be in charge of the program as required in the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act.

I believe this bill is a constructive opportunity for Indian tribes in the management of their own coal resources and will meet their needs and properly safeguard their interests and their lands. ●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 553

At the request of Mr. HART, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 553, a bill to authorize a national program of improving the quality of education.

S. 1549

At the request of Mr. ARMSTRONG, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1549, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit individual retirement accounts, qualified retirement trusts and certain educational organizations to invest in working interests in oil and gas properties without incurring unrelated business taxable income.

S. 1841

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. PACKWOOD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1841, a bill to promote research and development, encourage innovation, stimulate trade, and make necessary and appropriate amendments to the antitrust, patent, and copyright laws.

S. 2743

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2743, a bill to designate a portion of 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, DC, on which the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is located as "Andrei Sakharov Avenue".

S. 2766

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the names of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. BINGAMAN], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN] were added as cosponsors of S. 2766, a bill to amend chapter 44, title 18, United States Code, to regulate the manufacture and importation of armor piercing ammunition.

S. 2875

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the name of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2875, a bill to establish qualifications for individuals appointed to the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1985, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 269

At the request of Mr. LEVIN, the names of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES], and the Senator from Florida [Mrs. HAWKINS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 269, a joint resolution designating the week beginning September 23, 1984, as "National Adult Day Care Center Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 272

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 272, a joint resolution recognizing the anniversaries of the Warsaw Uprising and the Polish resistance to the invasion of Poland during World War II.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 310

At the request of Mr. LEVIN, the names of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. STAFFORD], and the Senator from Florida [Mrs. HAWKINS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 310, a joint resolution to designate the week beginning September 16, 1984, as "National Osteopathic Medicine Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 311

At the request of Mr. LEVIN, the names of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 311, a joint resolution to designate the week of October 13, 1984, through October 19, 1984, as "National Independent Laboratory Week".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 323

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS], the Senator from Pennsylvania

[Mr. SPECTER], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 323, a joint resolution designating August 1984 as "Polish American Heritage Month".

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 327

At the request of Mr. KASTEN, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 327, a joint resolution to designate the week beginning September 2, 1984 as "Youth of America Week".

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 118

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], was added as cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 118, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the portion of the street in the District of Columbia on which is located the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the portion of any street in any other city in the United States on which is located a consular office or mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, should be named Andrei Sakharov Avenue.

SENATE RESOLUTION 425—AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF A SENATE REPORT

Mr. JEPSEN submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 425

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Joint Economic Committee five hundred and fifteen additional copies of its Joint Committee print of the Ninety-eighth Congress, second session, entitled "Industrial Policy Movement in the United States: Is It the Answer?"

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

HYDROELECTRIC POWER PLANTS

METZENBAUM AMENDMENT NO. 3424

Mr. METZENBAUM proposed an amendment to amendment No. 3419 proposed by him to the House amendment to the bill (S. 268) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain hydroelectric powerplants at various existing water projects, and for other purposes; as follows:

At the end of the pending amendment No. 3419 add:

The appropriate committees of Congress are requested to conduct a full review of federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam

Project and to report their findings on or before July 1, 1986.

METZENBAUM AMENDMENTS NOS. 3425 THROUGH 3454

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. METZENBAUM submitted 30 amendments intended to be proposed by him to the House amendment to the bill S. 268, supra; as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 3425

At the end of the House Amendments add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Energy shall require the Western Area Power Marketing Administration to repay the Federal investment in its power and transmission projects to the Treasury by annual payments sufficient to amortize the debt, including principal and interest, on each project on a straight line basis within the service life of such project or 50 years, whichever period of time is shorter. The Secretary may waive the requirements of the preceding sentence only under exceptional economic conditions. If the Secretary does waive such requirements, any missed annual payment shall be repaid in the next succeeding year with interest equal to the average interest rate payable by the Treasury upon its total marketable public obligations as of September 30 of the fiscal year the payment was originally due."

AMENDMENT No. 3426

At the end of schedule A of Section 105(a)(1)(A) insert the following, the allocation to the Southern California Edison Company is deleted. Further, Schedule A shall further be amended to increase the allocations to the other listed allottees on a pro rata basis.

AMENDMENT No. 3427

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; *Provided, however*, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1999."

AMENDMENT No. 3428

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; *Provided, however*, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1997."

AMENDMENT No. 3429

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; *Provided, however*, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1995."

AMENDMENT No. 3430

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective upon the date of enactment; *Provided, however*, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1993."

AMENDMENT No. 3431

At the end of the House amendment add: "The provisions of this Act shall be effective

upon the date of enactment; *Provided, however*, that no provision of this Act or any other law regarding the pricing of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after July 1, 1991."

AMENDMENT No. 3432

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no contract authorized by this Act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1999."

AMENDMENT No. 3433

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1997."

AMENDMENT No. 3434

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1995."

AMENDMENT No. 3435

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1993."

AMENDMENT No. 3436

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1991."

AMENDMENT No. 3437

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than the average cost of power marketed by the Department of Energy through the Western Area Power Administration."

AMENDMENT No. 3438

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 75 percent of the average cost of hydroelectric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3439

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 75 percent of the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be re-

turned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3440

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than 50 percent of the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3441

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987 at not less than the average cost of electric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3442

At the end of the House Amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this act, no contract authorized by this act or any other law shall prescribe terms and conditions for the sale of power generated at Hoover Dam beyond the period ending December 31, 1989: Provided That, on or after February 1, 1985 a commission shall be created to study and make recommendations to the Congress on the pricing of power from Federal hydroelectric facilities once those facilities have substantially repaid the original Federal investment in accordance with existing law.

The Commission shall consist of:

- (1) The Comptroller General;
- (2) The Secretary of Energy or his designee;
- (3) The Secretary of Treasury or his designee;
- (4) The Secretary of Interior or his designee;
- (5) The Director of O.M.B. or his designee;
- (6) Four business people with expertise and knowledge of energy issues, one each appointed by the Speaker of the House, the Majority Leader of the Senate, the Minority Leader of the House and the Minority Leader of the Senate;
- (7) Four representatives from the publicly owned utility industry, appointed in the manner described in paragraph (6); and
- (8) Four representatives from environmental organizations appointed in the manner described in paragraph (6).

The Commission shall report its findings and recommendations by January 1, 1986.

AMENDMENT No. 3443

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, including this Act, the Secretary of Energy shall provide for surplus revenues by including the equivalent of 10 mills per kilowatt-hour in the rates charged to purchasers of power generated at Hoover Dam. Such surplus revenues shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3444

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, including this Act, the Secretary of Energy shall provide for surplus revenues by including the equivalent of 10 mills per kilowatt-hour in the rates charged to pur-

chasers of power generated at Hoover Dam. Such surplus revenues shall be transferred to the Secretary of the Interior and used for the purposes of Federal dam safety modifications in Arizona, California, and Nevada. Such dam safety modifications shall be for the purposes of dam safety and not for the specific purposes of providing additional conservation storage capacity or of developing benefits over and above those provided by the original dams and reservoirs."

AMENDMENT No. 3445

Strike section 103 of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3446

Strike section 102(A)(2) of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3447

Strike section 105(B) and add at the appropriate place: "Notwithstanding of any other provision, power resulting from the uprating program shall be sold by the Secretary through a process of competitive bidding."

AMENDMENT No. 3448

Amend section 105(h)(1) by striking "within one year" and inserting "within five years."

AMENDMENT No. 3449

Strike section 109 of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3450

Strike section 102 of the House amendment.

AMENDMENT No. 3451

At the end of schedule A of section 105(a)(1)(A) insert the following: "there is allocated to the city of San Diego a contingent capacity of 50,000 kilowatts and firm energy of 100,000 (thousand kilowatt-hours, both summer and winter): *Provided further*, that schedule A shall also be amended to reduce all other allocations on a pro rata basis."

AMENDMENT No. 3452

At the end of the House amendment add: "Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or any other law, the Secretary of Energy shall sell power generated at Hoover Dam after May 31, 1987, at not less than 50 percent of the average cost of hydroelectric power sold in the United States. Surplus revenues that result from this provision shall be returned to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

AMENDMENT No. 3453

In section 201(a), delete the words "acting by and through the Western Area Power Administration (hereinafter "Western")."

AMENDMENT No. 3454

Strike section 102(c) of the House amendment.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

MAINE MIA MEDAL AWARDS

● Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, tomorrow afternoon in Augusta, ME, a ceremony will take place that will

extend to the families of our men still missing in Southeast Asia the honor and the recognition of their Nation for their sacrifice and their courage.

The distinguished former Secretary of State, Ed Muskie, will host a ceremony at which special commemorative medals will be presented to representatives of 10 Maine families whose sons, brothers, and husbands vanished in Southeast Asia.

The bitterness and division that rent our Nation over the Vietnam war is fading from the national memory today, as it should. But we should not allow the memory of our missing men to fade.

The families of MIA's and POW's have worked steadfastly and for many years to make sure that our memory of their men remains alive and that our efforts to discover their fate remain untiring.

The families of the missing have been the conscience of the Nation on this issue. Their dedication to that effort, as well as their sacrifice, are honored by the commemorative medals which Congress authorized last year.

The 19 men of Maine who never returned from Vietnam were boys born and raised in every part of our State—from Presque Isle to Portland. They were career officers and enlisted men alike. And all, officers and men, gave honorable service when their Nation called.

They and their families paid a high price through that service. They are owed no less than the heartfelt thanks of all Americans, and the honor that any Nation must give to those who run the ultimate risk in behalf of all.

I ask that the names and hometowns of these men appear in the RECORD following my remarks. They are men whose sacrifice we should honor and whose families deserve our respect for their fortitude and spirit.

The material follows:

NAMES AND FAMILY HOME TOWN

Air Force: Maj. George H. Jourdenais, Presque Isle; Col. Herbert O. Brennan, Damariscotta; Sgt. Edward J. Darcy, Gorham; and Lt. Col. Paul E. Getchell, Portland.

Army: Sgt. John H.R. Brooks, Peru; and Sgt. Richard C. Dority, Dover-Foxcroft.

Marines: Sgt. Peter G. Vlahakos, Auburn.

Navy: LCDR Robert S. Graustein, Fryeburg; Lt. Malcolm A. Avore, Hallowell; Lt. Terence H. Hanley, Pittston; and EM2 Joseph T. Musetti, Mt. Desert. ●

FOUR GOOD REASONS FOR NATO

● Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I submit for the RECORD an article entitled "Four Good Reasons for Nato," written by David Abshire, U.S. Ambassador to NATO.

The article follows:

FOUR GOOD REASONS FOR NATO

The Times' superb series on the 35th anniversary of the Atlantic alliance is striking for its recurrent emphasis on sustaining public support as the key to Nato's future. Critical to that support is the continued perception of the legitimacy—political, military and moral—of the alliance and its strategy.

Ethics and nuclear weapons have become one of the most vibrant issues of our day. The outcome of that debate touches the future of the alliance, for the public must be convinced of the moral legitimacy if Nato's support is to be sustained.

The maturation of a new generation unscarred by the tragedies of two world wars, with the emergence of new currents of thought and opinion, is bringing Nato to a moral crossroads. There is, however, confusion over the germ "moral" that has made Nato advocates hesitant to enter the fray. On one side stand many political activists, some in the peace movements, who proclaim certain absolute moral positions and insist on their morality to the exclusion of all other factors. On the other side are active men of affairs who also view moral values as absolute but impractical—something postulated by clergy or educators, but not applicable to real world choices.

I say a plague on both their houses. Absolutism of either kind is not appropriate. Those who would take one issue—such as medium range missile deployment—and look at it out of context are too simplistic. Those who would moralize about absolute peace without ever studying the problems of achieving real peace, or considering the threats to peace or the conduct of a potential adversary, are doing little to advance the cause of peace.

Equally, those who believe moral considerations have no place in their decisions will not take long to discover that their cynicism is not shared and their policies not supported.

The great theologians have known that absolutism doesn't work and that in the lives of nations, as distinguished from the lives of men, clear moral choice is more difficult because it is so much more ambiguous. This dilemma was identified by the Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr in the very title of his classic book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. St. Augustine of Hippo argued that until the city of God appeared, it was one's duty to further the city of man.

In foreign and security policy, only partial solutions are possible; one must constantly strike unsatisfactory balances—between compromise and security, between order and progress. That is the challenge Nato faces.

The two world wars and the immediate post-war experience that fostered Nato's birth conjured four new horsemen of the apocalypse: fears of nuclear war, of worldwide conventional war, of blackmail and coercion, and of human tyranny and bondage. Hiroshima, the Somme, Munich, Auschwitz embodies these spectres. The moral imperative became the prevention of their happening again. Nato must confront not just one of these evils but all four.

Each of these phantoms threatens the Judeo-Christian, multifaceted concept of peace which unfortunately has gone largely unaddressed by many in the "peace" movements and others in the debate. This notion of "peace" is an integrated balance of two traditional concepts—one reflected in the Hebrew word *shalom* and the other in the Latin word *pax*. *Shalom* implies a sense of peace that relates to an individual's whole-

ness and health, security and prosperity in their fullest sense. *Pax*, on the other hand, connotes the peace of the ordered political community that makes living together possible. It has to do with order and stability.

The classical concept of peace, then, implies much more than the absence of war and the avoidance of war, more than a determination simply not to fight. It focuses on the creation of conditions in which individuals and societies can flourish and in which there are recognized limitations on the use of force.

Peace is a dynamic process in which we must be constantly and positively engaged. It is a multifaceted concept, encompassing both the individual and society. The only legitimate peace policy is one that neither sacrifices freedom of the individual for the order of the state, nor ignores the threat to the state because it is consumed by the personal comfort of the people.

Because the threat to peace is multifaceted, absolute solutions will not work. They address only one dimension of the threat; they secure only one facet of the peace. Some people, for example, have suggested unilateral disarmament as the absolute solution. Such a policy may achieve our relief from the threat of nuclear or conventional war, but would it really relieve us from the threat of tyranny?

Our problem in securing a just defence—and the basic moral ambiguity we must confront—is that all of our options are unattractive; there is no good choice. All involve some element of moral risk and the possibility of pain and suffering.

If moral absolutes are inappropriate, what does a just defence mean? St. Augustine defined some criteria as proportionality—that particular means must be in proper relation to desired ends. A second element is proper motivation. Just defence must also be adaptable to the world's constantly changing conditions that might generate new threats or reconfigure old ones. Therefore, just defence must be flexible.

I believe that the current Nato strategy of deterrence meets these criteria. Reinforcing deterrence is the best path for ensuring the peace.

On the military side, reinforcing deterrence requires reducing the nuclear risk by improving Nato's conventional capabilities, thereby making flexible response truly flexible. Flexible response remains a good strategy—one of proportionality and legitimacy.

Nato's role, however, goes beyond the purely military. When Nato, in 1979, committed itself to the two-track approach, it recognized that arms control efforts must parallel military ones. Moreover, the Nato charter stresses that economic progress and economic cooperation are essential to achieve the individual and national well-being inherent in our concept of peace.

Until now, we have been talking about *pax* and just defence. Let us turn to *shalom*. Part of *shalom* relates to the dignity of the individual. Nato is a unique alliance of democracies. Since its creation, four states have joined. They did so not just because it was a way to enhance their security, but because they recognized and wanted to be associated with the values for which Nato stand. They wanted it to be known that their people, too, enjoy the freedom and justice that Nato secures.

Few people realize the role of the alliance as the coordinating centre for western positions on the Helsinki accords and the problems of human rights. The West's achieve-

ments at Madrid and its efforts at the follow up meeting in Stockholm have been possible only because of individual member nations' commitment to Nato's shared values and their steadfast cohesion during negotiations.

Finally, Nato has been unrelenting in its efforts to develop a constructive relationship with its potential adversaries. The legitimate pursuit of peace demands positive engagement, and Nato members have recognized that a posture of unremitting hostility toward the Soviet Union and its allies will not be productive in the long run. The alliance is currently exploring how best to define a long-term realistic approach to the East that avoids the ups and downs of false detente but that also diminishes tensions and mutual suspicions.

Nato's goal is the deterrence of any war whether nuclear or conventional. The Atlantic alliance was created in the wake of the excesses of a world at war and gave hope that conflict would no longer be the final arbiter in the settlement of disputes between nations. The alliance may not be perfect, but it is unparalleled in its values and in its dedication to peace. Indeed, it has legitimacy and a strong moral basis. It surely provides the best possible means for sustaining the public consensus and securing a true peace.●

THE DEPORTATION OF MICHAEL O'ROURKE

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I have cosponsored S. 2375 which would postpone the deportation of Michael O'Rourke for 6 months. Since Senator SPECTER introduced this bill in February, Mr. O'Rourke has returned to Ireland.

I have cosponsored this measure because I share Senator SPECTER's concern about the possibility that Mr. O'Rourke may have been denied the due process of law in his case. My cosponsorship of this bill is not intended to reflect support for Mr. O'Rourke's alleged activities in Ireland or reflect on what should or should not have been the final disposition in his deportation case before Immigration and Naturalization Service Administrative Law Judge Hupp.

Senator SPECTER's intent in introducing S. 2357 was to provide a vehicle for the Senate Judiciary Committee to hold hearings on allegations of possible wrongdoing in Mr. O'Rourke's case. These hearings are scheduled for July 30. It is my hope that all questions of impropriety relative to Mr. O'Rourke's case will be thoroughly aired and adequately answered in these hearings.●

H.R. 5798—TREASURY, POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

● Mr. MATTINGLY. Mr. President, on Wednesday, July 25, I was absent during the rollcall vote on final passage of the Treasury appropriations bill for fiscal year 1985 because I was in Atlanta taking part in a welcoming ceremony for the President of the

United States. Had I been present for that vote, I would have voted "aye."

As a member of the Treasury Appropriations Subcommittee, I am very familiar with the efforts of its distinguished chairman, Senator ABDNOR and its ranking member, Senator DECONCINI. I commend my able colleagues and leaders on the subcommittee for their diligence and for the labor which they have expended on this legislation. They and the very able majority and minority subcommittee staff deserve special commendation in view of the fact that this is the first Treasury Appropriations bill to pass the Senate since 1979.

The discretionary spending authorized by this bill is right on target with the allocation approved by the full Appropriations Committee. The legislation strikes an appropriate balance between filling the legitimate budget needs of the agencies within its jurisdiction and yet is mindful of the important need to restrain the growth of Federal spending.

I hope that this example of fiscal restraint is followed as we prepare to consider the remaining appropriation bills.●

SUMMIT CONFERENCE ON CYPRUS

● Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, the situation in Cyprus threatens the security of the United States, the integrity of the NATO alliance, and the safety and welfare of the people of Cyprus. In view of the dangers represented by the continuing illegal Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus, I urge President Reagan to take the lead in convening a summit conference of the affected nations. We need dramatic action to prevent the further unraveling of the key Western security relationship in the Eastern Mediterranean. A summit conference, on the magnitude of the Camp David summit which produced great progress in Israeli-Egyptian relations, would constitute a major U.S. contribution to the resolution of the Cyprus problem.

Ten years ago, on July 20, 1974, Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus. That action made a mockery of the treaties, charters and international laws that make possible peaceful coexistence among nations.

On March 28, 1984, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee marked up authorizing legislation for foreign military assistance. A key issue in the markup debate was discussion of U.S. frustrations over Turkey's continued occupation of one-third of the island of Cyprus. A bipartisan group of Senators expressed serious concern over the continuing presence of 20,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus soil, Turkish expenditures of over \$200 million a year to support an illegal presence in Cyprus while continuing to ask for in-

creased U.S. military assistance, and the bad faith that has been shown by the leadership in Ankara and its protégé, Mr. Rauf Denktash in occupied Cyprus.

In an effort to facilitate the negotiation process, Senator BIDEN and I, with the strong support of Chairman PERCY, introduced an amendment to the military assistance authorization for Turkey. This amendment conditioned \$216 million in grant military assistance upon Presidential certification that the deserted, formerly Greek-Cypriot city of Famagusta-Varosha had been returned to the Government of Cyprus for resettlement of refugees. The amendment also cut foreign military sales credits and guarantees for Turkey by \$25 million.

We cannot forget that over 200,000 Greek Cypriots are still displaced, unable to return to their homes. Nearly 2,000 Cypriots were needlessly killed, and the survivors are experiencing a cultural death, as every trace of Cypriot life and customs are systematically replaced with Turkish standards. Turkey and the world must know that America does not support, especially with money and arms, human rights violations, wanton invasions or oppressive regimes anywhere in the world.

I urge my distinguished colleagues to renew our commitment to a democratic Cyprus and the initiation of a fair and peaceful solution to the conflicts in that nation. My wish is that there will not be a need to commemorate this day with sadness again.

This 10th anniversary is an excellent opportunity for the United States to strengthen the southeastern flank of NATO by enacting legislation supporting good faith negotiations for the reunification of the sovereign nation of Cyprus. It is also an opportune time for the United States to organize a summit conference on Cyprus.●

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF ST. MICHAEL'S UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

● Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, the year 1984 marks the centennial celebration of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Shenandoah, PA.

St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, founded in 1884, was the first Greek Catholic Parish in America. The ancestors of St. Michael's parishioners came to this great Nation from Eastern Europe between 1860 and 1870, with the hope of finding a better way of life. Upon their arrival, they first settled in Massachusetts and Vermont; some years later they settled in Pennsylvania, which was, and remains, the home of many Ukrainians.

Joseph Zoliak was the first immigrant to settle in the Shenandoah area of Pennsylvania—the present home of St. Michael's. The first settlers wanted

a church of their own where they could worship in their "mother tongue" according to their own rites and beliefs. Their prayers were answered on October 24, 1884, when the Reverend John Walainsky was appointed as the first Greek Catholic priest in America. His first service was held on December 18, 1884, at Kern Hall in Shenandoah. By 1885, the newly settled immigrants were able to purchase two buildings on the north side of Centre Street in Shenandoah. Father Walainsky blessed the first Greek Catholic Church on this site on November 21, 1886. During the following years, the congregation grew rapidly, and soon there was a need for a larger church. In 1907, a plot of ground on Oak and Chestnut Streets in Shenandoah was purchased. One year later, the church and rectory were built, and the first Liturgy was celebrated on Palm Sunday in 1909.

Recently, the parishioners of St. Michael's have been forced to rebuild their house of worship, because on the morning of April 7, 1980, the church and its rectory, with all of their priceless antiques, religious art, and icons, were completely destroyed by fire. After this devastating fire, the present pastor, Father John Bura, along with the parishioners, made immediate preparations to transform the church hall on West Central Street to an interim church. In August 1982, construction of the present church was started, and on November 27, 1983, the blessing of the cornerstone and the first Liturgy were held at the new St. Michael's.

Today, 100 years later, St. Michael's remains the place of worship where the faithful parishioners can honor God in their own way.

On this 100th anniversary of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, I am honored to extend my sincere congratulations and best wishes to my Ukrainian-American friends and fellow Pennsylvanians. I thank you for making Shenandoah, PA, your home.●

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

HYDROELECTRIC POWERPLANTS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the pending business.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Metzenbaum Amendment No. 3419 to the House amendment to S. 268, an act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain hydroelectric powerplants at various existing water projects, and for other purposes.

Mr. HECHT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. HECHT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. HECHT. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays in connection with the amendment I have pending at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 3424

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio (Mr. METZENBAUM) proposes an amendment numbered 3424 to amendment numbered 3419.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the pending amendment No. 3419, add: The appropriate committees of Congress are requested to conduct a full review of Federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam Project, and to report their findings on or before July 1, 1986.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I think we should understand what the situation is on the floor at the moment.

Last evening, I sent to the desk an amendment, in connection with which I have asked for the yeas and nays, which was intended to cover the matters that were addressed by my distinguished colleague from California, who pointed out all the reasons why we need other matters that are in the bill having to do with upgrading of the Hoover Dam.

The Senator from Ohio made it clear when he addressed this body yesterday that my issue or my concerns were not with those provisions. As a matter of fact, I think they were writ-

ten as provided in the House bill, and I support them. They provide for the payment in full of the costs of the upgrading, and I think that is appropriate, and I certainly do not want to stand in the way of that.

There are two other parts to the bill that I want to talk about. One has to do with the matter of allocation. Who gets the power? At the present time, certain residents of California and the people in the States of Nevada and Arizona have the opportunity to buy the power, and no one else.

As a matter of fact, it was rather interesting to me yesterday when the former mayor of San Diego took the floor to indicate his support for this measure. I have in my hand an editorial from the San Diego Union, which comes to exactly the contrary position, because the people of San Diego are being discriminated against. That editorial, which I will see fit to read at a later point, makes it very clear that they feel that they are getting the short end of the stick, while the favored few who are provided for in this bill are able to purchase the power.

Who can purchase the power now? The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, the city of Los Angeles, the Southern California Edison Co., the city of Glendale, the city of Pasadena, the city of Burbank, the Arizona Power Authority, the Colorado River Commission of Nevada, and the United States for Boulder City.

That has to do with the power that is presently being generated. It is obvious that if you are not one of those favored few, you do not get those benefits.

Mr. President, I am not here on the floor to challenge that allocation, although I may return at a later point and offer an amendment to permit San Diego to be included, because I certainly would not want to deprive a fine community such as San Diego of the right to buy power in the same manner as the other people of California are purchasing it. As a matter of fact, it is not at all unlikely that at some point such an amendment will be offered.

However, let me come back to my amendment at this time, because that is the point I wish to emphasize to my colleagues. All we say here is that, notwithstanding any other provision, all provisions of this bill shall become effective upon the date of enactment. Then we have a proviso, and there is only one proviso: Provided, however, that no section of this bill on the Boulder Canyon Project Act of 1928 regarding the price of power generated at Hoover Dam shall be effective after May 31, 1987—which, I should point, is the date that is presently in the law. So all we are saying is that you can have everything else in the bill, except the pricing, and we do not believe that

we ought to lock in the pricing for 30 years.

Before the debate on this bill concludes, I will point out that in one of the prominent publications of this country, it is pointed out that under this legislation, the people who have the privilege of buying the power will be paying the same rate for power from the Hoover Dam in the year 2017 that people were paying in the year 1937.

How absurd can you get? Inflation between 1937 and 2017 will have gone sky high. The costs have been escalating. It is fair to say that this bill does provide that the users will pay for the cost of operation and maintenance. But in spite of that, they will be paying at the same rate in the year 2017 as they were paying in 1937.

Some of my colleagues saw fit yesterday to vote against my proposed amendment, and I should like to discuss with them what they are doing to their own communities. What they are doing to their own communities is saying, "Look, it's all right for the United States to make power available for a half-cent for a kilowatt hour while the rest of the country pays a rate 13 times that amount, or 6.5 cents per kilowatt hour."

It is fair to say that not every community pays the same—some are higher, some lower. But the average rate, according to the Congressional Research Service, is 6.5 cents per kilowatt hour.

How can you possibly justify permitting people to buy power for a half-cent per kilowatt hour? This I want to say to some of my colleagues who have seen industry leave their communities and go to Nevada and go to Arizona and go to California because power can be bought in those areas for a half cent or one-thirteenth the rate that local industry has to pay. What possible justification can you have with respect to that kind of discrimination against the individual who buys power for his or her own home, or how can you justify it to your local chamber of commerce when they tell you that XYZ Co., is going to Nevada or Arizona or California because they can buy power there so much cheaper and that is a major factor in the cost of their doing business? What logical reason? How could you answer that? I submit to my colleagues that there is no way to answer that question.

It is an unfair discriminatory practice that is being jammed through the Senate. When I say "jammed through," let me point out what I am saying. A cloture motion was filed in connection with this matter approximately 4 hours after the debate started on it; 4 hours after. Nobody said anything about a filibuster. But, no, we have to get this bill through. I do not know why. The whole issue does

not become a reality until May 31, 1987. We have more than enough time to deal with it before then. But, no, we have to jam it through.

Is it because it is an election year? Is it because certain special Members of this body are demanding that this legislation be passed?

I for one do not know, nor do I really care, because I believe it is the responsibility of the Senate to defeat this proposal, and I would hope that instead of defeating the bill, which I am not asking you to do, that you would see fit to adopt the amendment that I have pending as well as the second-degree amendment which would in effect provide nothing more than that the appropriate committees of Congress under the second-degree amendment are requested to conduct a full review of Federal policies affecting the price of electricity generated by the Hoover Dam project and to report their findings on or before July 1, 1986.

What could be more reasonable? The first part of the amendment provides that you can have the entire bill except for the pricing; the second part merely provides that the appropriate committees of Congress will study the issue and report back to Congress their findings before July 1, 1986, which would give Congress between July 1, 1986 and May 31, 1987 to deal with the issue.

The Senator from Ohio has attempted to present this matter in a reasonable way. It is not a political matter, except for the fact that the effort is being made to jam it through. But absent that I would be the first to recognize that there are prominent members of my party and prominent members of the other party who support this legislation as well as prominent members of both parties who oppose it.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a conservative paper, serving that community and a major factor in California, had an editorial on this subject and I would like to share the contents of that editorial. In fact, there are three papers in California that have editorialized on this subject. And I want to point out that they go further than the Senator from Ohio is advocating. They go to the point of having the power auctioned. I am not standing here proposing that. I am merely saying let us see what the fair rates should be that are to be charged.

The San Francisco Chronicle editorial entitled "South vs. North On Hoover Power":

A bill that reeks of a musty agreement made in years long past allocating power generated by water from the Hoover Dam comes before the House of Representatives for action this week. Since it has to do with water and with cut-rate power, it is heavily favored by certain southern California interests. But it will affect us here in the North, too. It seems to us there is no reason

to perpetuate the truly outmoded ways the measure embodies.

This situation has been laid out in elegant and penetrating fashion by writer Harold Gilliam in the Sunday columns of this newspaper. His view deserves reemphasis. The old contract provisions permit Hoover Power to be sold at far below the market price. The original purpose of the cheap energy was to promote growth in southern California, "perhaps a valid goal half a century ago," as Gilliam said, "but one that is scarcely tenable now that the region has grown to the point of strangulation."

The measure now before Congress extends the old contract as if the past 50 years had never happened. It constitutes a munificent benefit for the original contractors and those who were in on the ground floor like the metropolitan water district of southern California, or "MET", which used Hoover energy to pump Colorado River water to southern California.

Not surprisingly, some California utilities, like San Diego Gas and Electric, that were not in the original deal, say they would like to make a handsome bid for some Hoover power.

What strikes home is that the "MET" will be getting the right to pump more northern California water south by using cheap energy from Hoover. Thus, the Federal Government will be in effect subsidizing the draining of northern California to further the growth of a population-bloated southland.

This shocking measure has been approved by the Senate and has log-rolling momentum in the House.

And then it goes on to refer to Representative BARBARA BOXER's efforts in the House and that they support it.

I want to point out that I am not at that point where I support the auctioning off of the power. I do think that we might consider whether or not we want to make the power available to San Diego because I would be curious to know how the people from California feel about why some parts of California should be favored and others not.

Let me point out, this is a Federal dam having to do with a Federal river, built by Federal taxpayers' dollars; the region has leased that facility for 50 years. It paid for construction of the dam through utility rates under terms of the lease. Now they want to renew the lease on a Federal facility and the question before us is how much should the Government charge the customers for the power generated from this dam under a new lease.

I stand here on the floor and tell you I do not know the answer. I am not sure of the answer. But I believe that Congress would be irresponsible if we did not make some determination in connection with this subject.

Let me point out again if the people in these three States and the industry and the private utilities in these three States can buy power at one-thirteenth the going rate, then every Senator in this body can look forward to more and more industry leaving his or her State and moving to this area

where they can buy this power at such a reduced rate.

We have a \$200 billion deficit and I am not saying how much we ought to be getting from this facility. In one editorial it was pointed out this we will lose \$6 billion by reason of the passage of this bill. Other sources have indicated we would lose \$3.5 billion and that over a relatively short period of time.

But why, why should we be selling power to some specially favored people in this country from a federally built facility at rates so low that they provide unfair competition for the rest of the States in this country.

I do not understand how some of my colleagues who did not vote with me yesterday could explain to their constituents this kind of special privilege, this kind of favoritism that would come about if this measure is enacted without the amendment that I have proposed.

The San Diego Union newspaper addressed itself to this issue and they talked about the power giveaway. They wrote the editorial on April 13 of this year in which they said:

The Hoover Dam may be a monument to modern engineering, but contracts negotiated 50 years ago to cover the sale of its hydroelectric power are a monument to wasteful energy policy. The House of Representatives will vote soon on extending the contracts for another 30 years. The bill should be defeated.

A Federal Government so starved for funds that its deficits are threatening the economic recovery is selling power from the Hoover Dam at giveaway prices. The loss to the Government could amount to as much as \$6 billion during the next decade.

Hoover Dam power is being sold for about a half cent per kilowatt hour, compared with the price range of 2 to 7 cents for electricity purchased elsewhere in the Southwest. Underpricing electricity to such an extent discourages conservation and is patently unfair to utility customers, including San Diegans who do not happen to be served by one of the utilities eligible to buy the power.

As a privately owned utility, San Diego Gas & Electric Co. stands at the end of the line among prospective purchasers of Hoover Dam power. Government agencies and publicly owned utilities have first call on it, and because they are eager to buy all the bargain power they can get, there is no chance S.D.G.&E.'s number will ever come up.

House Resolution 4275, due for a vote soon, would perpetuate this discriminatory state of affairs. The House should reject the measure and instead instruct the Western Area Power Administration to auction Hoover Dam power to competitive bidders when the present contracts expire in 1987. S.D.G.&E. could then bid for power that could be brought to San Diego via the link to the East now being built.

The Government does not make sweetheart deals with companies that want to produce oil, gas, and minerals from public lands. It opens these resources to production through leases awarded on the basis of competitive bids. The Hoover Dam and its output of electric power should receive the same treatment. Let the market determine

the value of its energy, and let the country as a whole benefit from the revenue the Hoover Dam can earn.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. KASTEN]. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HECHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HECHT. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio has offered another dilatory amendment to this legislation. It is not realistic to suggest that 15 million electric ratepayers should invest another \$77 million in Hoover Dam if they cannot be assured of the price for that power beyond 1988.

I ask my colleagues: would any of you support legislation calling for the construction of a dam, or a bridge, or a highway, or a sewer treatment plant, that required 100 percent non-Federal financing but did not specify what the price for their use of the facility would be after it was completed? Of course not.

What the Senator from Ohio is really getting at is this: he thinks the Federal Government should earn a profit on the sale of power from Hoover Dam. He professes concern about the size of the Federal deficit.

Let me remind my colleagues that the improvements authorized under S. 268 will be entirely financed by the power users. This is the largest Federal hydro project in history to be financed by non-Federal funds. It will not increase the size of the deficit one bit.

The gist of his arguments are: he wants the Federal Government to earn a profit on the sale of Hoover power. Do any of my colleagues really support this concept? Do we want to earn a profit on power sold by the other Federal power marketing agencies? Federal power is sold at cost in 35 States across this land—I repeat, 35 States across this land.

Do we want to earn a profit on our investment in the Interstate Highway System? How about the lock and canal systems operated by the Corps of Engineers? How about flood control, sewer treatment, or public housing? Why shouldn't the Federal Government earn a profit on every dime it spends on improving the infrastructure of this great country? Let us ask ourselves these questions. The Government's profit in these investments should only be measured by the improved quality of life it brings our citizens and taxpayers.

Again, I urge my colleagues to support the enactment of this bill. Let us get on with the business of the Senate. S. 268 is a good bill, a sound bill, a bill that has been passed once by this body

and the House of Representatives. It is too late to go back to the drawing board, particularly the Senator from Ohio's drawing board. I urge the defeat of his amendment.

I would like to respond to the statement by the Senator from Ohio that power rates from Hoover Dam will be the same in the year 2017 as it was in 1937.

This is totally untrue. The price for Hoover power is calculated in such a way that the ratepayers will reimburse the Federal Government for the capital costs it has invested in the construction and upkeep of the dam. The price also reflects the cost of operation and maintenance of the dam.

This price changes every year. It is true that the cost of constructing Hoover Dam will be fully repaid in 1987. It cost \$160 million to build the dam in 1937. However, many other investments have been made since 1937. Dams do not last forever. Parts get old and need to be replaced. Today's price and the post-1987 price will reflect the cost of these more recent investments. This bill, for example, provides for an additional \$77 million of investment in Hoover Dam.

Just this year, Hoover rates were raised roughly 30 percent to cover the increased cost of operation and maintenance. Rates will go up again before 1987, probably by another 30 percent. Finally, this legislation will require that rates go up even higher—by another 30 to 50 percent. So it is absurd to say that the rate is the same today as it was in 1937.

The Senator from Ohio implies that power rates in the Southwest are dirt-cheap. This is not true.

The average price of power in Nevada—of which the Hoover power is only a small part—is roughly 6 cents per kilowatt hour. Southern California's power rates are some of the highest in the Nation, over 8 cents. These rates are comparable—and in many cases higher—than they are in the State of Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I have to say to my good friend and colleague from Las Vegas that I am afraid he has not read my amendment because if he had read my amendment, he would certainly be in no position to say that it is dilatory, because dilatory means that it is just a stall, that it has no meaning, that it is just fun and games.

My amendment totally obviates and negates the entire impact of the speech that my colleague just made. My colleague talked about the improvements being financed by the users. I am not taking issue with that.

If you read my amendment, you will find that I will accept that part of your legislation. That part of your legislation is fine with me, and that is exactly what I am trying to say. We are talking about two separate subjects.

And if you paid attention to what I had written in the amendment and my opening remarks, I say very clearly that, notwithstanding any other provision, all provisions of this bill shall become effective upon date of enactment. That takes care of all the upgrading. That is the point to which you were speaking, and I have here provided for that. And the only thing that the proviso refers to has to do with the price of power generated by the Hoover Dam as is, the old part of the Hoover Dam.

So I just point out to the Senator that he is addressing himself to the question of the improvements, and we are not in disagreement. I am in favor of the people of that area paying for the improvements. I think that is a good part of the bill. So my amendment specifically covers that. Therefore, I cannot for the life of me understand how the Senator could rise to the floor and say I am giving you 80 percent or 90 percent of your total package, and that the amendment is dilatory. If anything, it is concessionary. It is giving the Senator that which he wants—the opportunity to make the improvements.

With respect to the matter of what are the fair rates they are after, I am not saying anything there that the Senator can find any fault with. The Senator is trying to say that the rates should be locked in for 30 years. I am saying that does not make good economic sense. It does not make good policy. And it is an unreasonable approach.

In Business Week magazine of April 16, 1984, they have an article headlined "Why Hoover Dam's 'Dirt Cheap' Power May Stay in the Hands of a Few." They then have a little box in the story which tells the story totally. It says, "The new contract will keep the average base price of Hoover power at 1937 prices until 2017."

Can the Senator tell me any reason why the people of this country should be selling power to the casinos located in Nevada at prices that were set in 1937 when nobody even thought the casinos were going to be built? And I would guess that somehow, if they scrimped, saved, turned down the lights a bit, and did everything else to economize, those casinos would be able to afford a price higher than a half a cent per kilowatt hour.

Maybe they changed the odds. Maybe they do something else. Maybe they do not cover the tables with the green felt as often. But there is not any logical reason for the rest of the country to subsidize those casinos in their purchase of power, nor any more reason for the rest of the country to subsidize the privately owned utility companies, or any other utility company, or the people of those three States

to the disadvantage of the rest of the Nation.

The Business Week article states it well. They start off with a little box indicating at the very beginning—

For sale: More than 1,300 megawatts of hydroelectric power. Priced unbelievably low. Plenty of room for growth. Contact Western Area Power Administration, c/o Hoover Dam.

End of the box.

Business Week then goes on to say:

That sort of advertisement would draw plenty of responses if it were placed in newspapers across the West. But WAPA, as the Federal power marketing agency is known, need not bother. The Reagan administration and the States of California, Arizona, and Nevada are about to reach an agreement that will continue to restrict the towering dam's prodigious output to municipal and other public power systems until 2017. The average price of the Federal power, an incredible 0.3 cents per kilowatt-hour about the same as the public systems have been paying for 47 years, and only 3.5 of the wholesale cost of commercially generated electricity in the region.

Electricity from the dam, which straddles the Colorado River along the Arizona-Nevada border, "is dirt cheap power—that's all there is to it," says Ronald K. Greenhalgh, WAPA's Assistant Administrator. The Agency's clients—who serve 10 million consumers—are pleased. "For the next 30 years, the present Hoover Dam customers will know exactly what they are getting. God and weather permitting," says Edward Weinberg, whose law firm of Duncan, Weinberg & Miller represents public power systems in Nevada.

Environmentalists, meanwhile, say that maintaining WAPA's bargain rates will only encourage consumption—and thus force utilities into unnecessary construction of fossil-fuel or nuclear generating plants when demand outstrips Hoover's supply. "Underpricing of Hoover Dam's power," says Thomas J. Graff, an environmental defense fund attorney, "will lead to a waste of energy." Adds Peter F. Cowhey, a political scientist at the University of California at San Diego and a member of the city's energy advisory board: "The Federal Government is undermining the growth of a rational interstate power system by distorting the pricing system."

Opponents of the Hoover power agreement also charge that the Federal Government is shortchanging itself. "What they should have done is to offer the power on an openbidding basis," says Cowhey. Indeed the difference between Hoover's current selling costs and commercial rates will amount to \$7 billion between 1990 and 1997 alone says Attorney Graff.

Under terms of the agreement between California, Nevada and Arizona, the average base price of Hoover power will remain at 0.3 cents per kilowatt per hour although surcharges levied to pay for several water projects will raise the average for some customers to close to 0.8 cents. Still, Hoover power will be an undeniable bargain. The Los Angeles Water & Power Department which expects to obtain 8 percent of its needs from Hoover this year at a cost of 0.2 cents per kilowatt per hour estimates that it would cost \$40 million to replace that power with electricity generated from oil, natural gas or other fuels.

At the same time, the issue of Federal power sales is coming under scrutiny nation-

wide. Through its five power-marketing administrations which manage some \$75 billion in Federal investment, the Energy Department acts as a wholesaler for about 6 percent of all the electricity generated in the U.S. The President's private sector survey on cost control—popularly known as the Grace Commission—has recommended the "defederalization" of power marketing through sales of the systems to private entities. The panel has also backed more rapid recovery of Government spending on power projects, and claims that application of "sound business principles" would yield a \$390 million-a-year windfall for Washington.

I would like to add parenthetically at this point that everybody, here, including the President of the United States, talks about the 2,450 suggestions that were made by the Grace Commission. And everybody talks about the fact that we have to do business in a more businesslike way as a government. Well, the buck stops here. The ball is in your court. That is what this issue is all about. Should the Federal Government favor some few people in this country to the disadvantage of the Federal Treasury and give away power at one-thirteenth the average paid by the rest of the people in this country, or should this Congress accept its responsibility as was provided in the legislation 50 years ago for us to deal with the issue.

We are not dealing with the issue. We are running away from the issue, if we just renew this contract for another 30-year term.

The Business Week article says that the changes that the Grace Commission was talking about are not likely to occur soon. They go on to say, despite its free-market leanings, the Reagan administration is unwilling to tangle with the public power lobby in Washington or with Western water and power interests.

The administration can count votes just like everybody else, observes Attorney Weinberg. As long as the water and power lobbies retain their strong voice, power projects like Hoover will be among the great bargains well into the 21st century.

Mr. President, the issue is before us. I would like my colleagues who are interested in this subject to know that the Senator from Ohio, with respect to whom an attempt is being made to shut down debate, is not trying to drag this matter out an unnecessarily long time. I will very shortly indicate that I am prepared to bring this matter to a vote in connection with my amendment. So if anyone in the Senate wishes to be heard on the issue, I do not want to cut them off, but I do believe that this body ought to move forward. It has much business on its agenda. I am prepared to move forward with the second vote in connection with this matter within a period of less than 24 hours.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for a quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, there are not many Members on the floor of the Senate at this moment, but there seems to be some confusion between the amendment that I offered yesterday and the amendment that I am offering today.

When this issue was before the Senate yesterday, it was indicated that the Consumer Federation of America was against the amendment. Frankly, that concerned me, because I yield to no Member of this body in having a better record with that body, being a strong advocate for consumers in this country.

So I take the floor at this time and I hope that my colleagues whose squawkboxes are on will take note of what I am about to say.

The Consumer Federation of America does have a position in opposition to market-based price fixing. They were opposed to the Boxer amendment.

The Senator from Ohio has made it clear on several occasions that I am not on the floor to suggest, and have not suggested, that we go to the point of the Boxer amendment with respect to market price costs.

With respect to my amendment yesterday and my amendment today, the Consumer Federation of America has no position. They have taken no position for it nor have they taken a position in opposition.

Since I know so many of my colleagues are concerned about their record as being friends of the American consumer, and properly so, I thought the RECORD ought to be set straight that the Consumer Federation of America had no position with respect to the amendment I offered yesterday, either for or against, and they have no position with respect to the amendment which is pending.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I listened with interest to the remarks of the Senator from Ohio with respect to the position of the Consumer Federation of America on the pricing formula for electricity that may come from a Federal installation, in this case specifically the Hoover Dam.

I do not know what the position of the Consumer Federation of America is. I do note for the RECORD at this time that the statement before the Senate with respect to what their position was came from the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. CRAN-

STON]. I note that he is not on the floor at this time, and whatever comment he would like to make with respect to the remarks of the Senator from Ohio will have to be his.

Mr. METZENBAUM. The Senator from Ohio certainly was not imputing the integrity or claiming any misrepresentation on the part of the Senator from California. I think it was logical for him to say that they did oppose the Boxer amendment, which is a fact. But I felt it important that we clarify they are not for or against yesterday's amendment or today's.

Mr. McCLURE. I say to the Senator from Ohio that I have no knowledge whether they are or are not. I do not know whether the Senator from Ohio is correctly stating their position, or Senator CRANSTON is, or if indeed there is an ambiguity.

Mr. METZENBAUM. I advise my colleagues that I just spoke with Mr. Steven Brobach, who is the executive director of that organization.

Mr. McCLURE. All I am trying to say is I have no personal knowledge of their position. I do not know whether the Senator from Ohio is correct or the Senator from California is correct. But since the Senator from California who made the statement is not on the floor, I thought it appropriate to at least note his absence from the floor and his inability to respond at this time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk and ask that it be stated by the clerk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion, having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Baker motion to concur in the House amendments to S. 268, the Hoover Powerplant Act of 1984.

Senators Howard Baker, Ted Stevens, Chic Hecht, Daniel J. Evans, Bob Kasten, Pete Wilson, Barry Goldwater, Jake Garn, John Tower, James Abdnor, Jeremiah Denton, John P. East, Paul Trible, Roger W. Jepsen, Malcolm Wallop, Mark Andrews, Steve Symms, and James A. McClure.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the vote on this measure will occur on Tuesday

under the rules unless other arrangements are made or unless cloture is invoked on Monday on the vote pursuant to the first cloture motion which was filed.

Mr. President, I know of no further debate on this measure today and if any Senator seeks recognition for that purpose I will yield the floor. Otherwise, I am going to put the Senate in a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

ANTITRUST/R&D

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, will the majority leader be good enough to yield?

Mr. BAKER. I yield.

Mr. METZENBAUM. This is on a totally different subject.

The majority leader has indicated at some point he wishes to bring up the R&D bill. The Senator from Ohio has had some differences on it. We are in agreement now.

I only wish to get the majority leader's thinking as to when he expects to bring that up.

Mr. BAKER. Yes.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Ohio for bringing the matter up and also for working out the complex details of the arrangement that I understand has now been agreed to by those who have signified a major interest in the bill, especially the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. President, it is my intention to ask the Senate to turn to that measure on Monday. It is my hope we can do it in a very brief time, perhaps even by unanimous consent. But it is the intention of the leadership on this side to ask the Senate to turn to that bill on Monday.

Mr. METZENBAUM. I thank the majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator from Ohio.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business to extend not past the hour of 4 p.m. in which Senators may speak for not more than 10 minutes each, with the exception of the two leaders, against whom no time limitation shall apply.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that if the Senate adjourns today, when it reconvenes on Monday, July 30, the reading of the Journal be dispensed with; that no resolutions come over under the rule; that the call of the calendar be dis-

pensed with; and that following the recognition of the two leaders, under the standing order, there be a special order in favor of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIER] for not to exceed 15 minutes, to be followed by a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not more than 15 minutes in length in which Senators may speak for not more than 2 minutes each; and provided, further, that the morning hours be deemed to have expired.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 4 P.M., MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournment until the hour of 4 p.m. on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there are a few matters that appear to be cleared for action by unanimous consent.

I ask the minority leader if he is prepared to proceed on some of them, and let me first identify Calendar Order No. 1068, which is Senate Joint Resolution 272.

Mr. BYRD. There is no objection.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, in view of that, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate Calendar Order No. 1068.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. BYRD. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 272) recognizing the anniversaries of the Warsaw uprising and the Polish resistance to invasion of Poland during World War II.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution and preamble are as follows:

S.J. RES. 272

Whereas August 1, 1984, marks the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, an event of major significance in the history of World War II:

Whereas on August 1, 1944, the Polish Home Army under the command of Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski rose up against the Nazis who had begun evacuating Warsaw in the face of the Soviet advance through Eastern Europe, held major portions of the city for sixty-three days against insuperable odds, and suffered extreme hardship, retribution, and personal sacrifice throughout a heroic engagement in which approximately two hundred and fifty thousand Poles were killed, wounded, or missing;

Whereas September 1, 1984, marks the forty-fifth anniversary of the invasion of Poland by the Army and Air Force of the Third Reich, which was followed just sixteen days later by the Soviet invasion from the East and the subsequent occupation of a zone populated by thirteen million Poles, these events having led to the development of a strong underground movement directed by the Polish Government in exile;

Whereas the three wartime leaders of the Polish Home Army, Lieutenant General Stefan Rowecki, murdered by the Gestapo in 1944, Lieutenant General Bor-Komorowski, imprisoned by the Nazis and died in London in 1966, and Major General Leopold Okulicki, imprisoned by the Soviets and perished in a Soviet jail in 1945, symbolize the supreme personal sacrifice and commitment to the cause of freedom and self-determination;

Whereas the spirit of Polish resistance to foreign oppression and domination is symbolized by these historic events and remains a vital element in the Polish national character as manifested by the emergence of the Solidarity Trade Union movement in 1980; and

Whereas, in prior years, the President has granted special recognition to these important days in Polish history, with particular regard to the crucial role of the Polish Home Army in the Allied war effort, and to the leaders of the Polish Home Army: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States joins in recognizing the anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, which stands as a poignant reminder to the world of the power of the human spirit over adversity, and the anniversary of the Polish resistance to the World War II invasion of Poland and the leaders of that resistance, which symbolizes the currently continuing struggle of the Polish people and freedom loving people everywhere in the preservation of their liberties and in fulfillment of their national aspirations.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

CONDEMNING THE CLOSING OF ABC COLOR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, may I say to the minority leader I am prepared now to call up House Concur-

rent Resolution 331, which is Calendar Order No. 1070, if there is no objection.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is no objection on this side.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate Calendar Order No. 1070.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 331) to condemn the closing of ABC Color, the only independent newspaper in Paraguay, and to urge the Government of Paraguay to permit the reopening of that newspaper and to guarantee freedom of the press.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the concurrent resolution.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in support of this resolution condemning the Paraguayan Government's closing of the newspaper ABC Color. Last March, in a blatant attack against Paraguay's only independent newspaper, agents of the 30-year-old regime of President Alfredo Stroessner jailed its brave publisher, Aldo Zuccolillo, closed down the newspaper, ransacked its offices, and threw its 400 employees out of work. A brave radio station that protested the closing was itself closed for 30 days.

I understand that General Stroessner is perplexed that the closing of a newspaper has aroused such criticism around the world. Indeed, the closing has raised the ire of the Department of State, the Inter-American Press Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Newspaper Guild, and now a bipartisan assemblage of Members of the House and Senate. Perhaps, the closing will serve a positive purpose. Perhaps it will awaken the Paraguayan Government to the fact that the movement within that country for a more open and democratic society is supported by a great body of international public opinion. A free press is essential to the achievement of that free society.

I fervently hope that the Government of Paraguay heeds the call from all of those concerned as well as from this resolution which urges it to permit the reopening of ABC Color and to guarantee freedom of the press.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, ABC Color was a popular, independent newspaper in Paraguay for 15 years before the government of General Alfredo Stroessner ordered it to be closed last March 22. The government alleged the newspaper was subverting public order. At first thought, the silencing of this paper in the remote reaches of the Southern Hemisphere may not seem important to us. Yet,

the closing of ABC Color has generated editorial comment in major newspapers across the United States. All urge that this paper be allowed to resume publication.

I have asked that House Concurrent Resolution 331 be brought up today under unanimous-consent agreement. This resolution, approved by the House of Representatives on June 29, condemns the closing of ABC Color and urges the Government of Paraguay to permit the reopening of that newspaper and guarantee freedom of the press. In approving this resolution, we would be joining the administration, as well as the House of Representatives, in voicing our Government's opposition to the closing of ABC Color. U.S. Ambassador Arthur H. Davis has repeatedly expressed the U.S. concern, and the State Department has informed Paraguayan Government officials that the closing of ABC Color will continue to be an important issue between us.

Approval of this resolution by the Senate would give timely assistance to other efforts on behalf of ABC Color. President Stroessner agreed to meet on June 22 with a delegation from the Inter-American Press Association. The meeting was described as cordial. Attached to my statement is an account of the interview with President Stroessner which was written by one of the IAPA participants, Edward Seaton of Seaton Publications, Manhattan, KS. At that time President Stroessner did not close the door on further consideration of the ABC Color issue, leading the delegation to hope that arrangements might be made whereby the paper could resume publication.

Mr. President, the great majority of Senators represent a State which is linked in a special relationship with an individual country in the Caribbean region, Central or South America. Under the well-known Partners of the Americas Program, Kansas has long enjoyed a very active friendship with its partner, Paraguay. This October, Partners of the Americas, a people-to-people program created under the Alliance for Progress, celebrates its 20th anniversary of hard work and accomplishments by the 54 partnerships.

Due to Kansas' partnership with Paraguay, we take a special interest in ABC Color, and I have been pleased to work in the Senate toward approval of House Concurrent Resolution 331. I ask unanimous consent that a few recent editorials on ABC Color be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, members of the journalistic community take quite seriously the obligation

to support their colleagues in other countries where freedom of the press is denied or under siege. This commitment is sorely needed and sets a high standard for other professions that are concerned about human rights and democratic institutions. I hope that journalists will continue to be actively involved in the battle for freedom of the press throughout the hemisphere.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Manhattan (KS) Mercury, July 1, 1984]

(By Edward Seaton, Publisher)

Meet A. Zuccolillo: Uncompromising, determined, courageous. A newspaper publisher forbidden to roll his press in Kansas' sisterland to the south, Paraguay.

Now, say hello to A. Stroessner: Tough, bold, cunning. The longest ruling dictator in Latin America—and one of the most durable in the world—who three months ago shut down Paraguay's leading daily, Zuccolillo's ABC Color.

These two strikingly similar personalities are locked in a struggle of power and principle that is gaining worldwide attention and last week brought this writer face-to-face with both of them.

The executive committee of the Inter American Press Association (IAPA) was mounting an on-site campaign in behalf of Aldo Zuccolillo's newspaper and as the committee's vice chairman I was the nominal leader of the 16-member delegation. The committee chairman was unable to participate.

The case has more than passing interest to Kansans because Paraguay is matched with Kansas in the Partners of the Americas program. One of the newspaper's editors, Ricardo Caballero Aquino, is a K-State graduate. Its most illustrious writer, Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle—known as the Jack Anderson of Paraguay—visited Manhattan in 1980. He currently is banned by law from the practice of journalism in Paraguay.

Most assessments we heard were pessimistic. Reopening the newspaper, we were told, was a dead issue in Paraguay. Zuccolillo had pushed too far in his struggle for an independent newspaper. His paper had more circulation than the other three dailies put together, it was monopolizing advertising, was disrupting national life, and was even in violation of the constitution. Despite Zuccolillo's appearing to be a virulent anti-communist to outsiders, the government party branded him a subversive.

Our only hope, we concluded, was to change the mind of President Alfredo Stroessner himself. We therefore went to a great deal of trouble to arrange a meeting with him personally. But upon departure from home had no response. An official at the Paraguayan embassy in Washington told us the president had never been known to reply to requests for meetings made by cable from abroad. A personal visit to the presidency would be necessary, he said. We were apprehensive. We could see ourselves in Asuncion being told we should have asked earlier for the interview. But upon arrival, we made the formal request in person.

To our delight, the response was positive.

We would be permitted interviews with President Stroessner and other high-ranking figures in the government. We immediately sat down with Zuccolillo to map out strategy. Most interviews with Stroessner turn into a monologue by the President, we

were told, so we drafted a three-page letter to present to him as insurance that our message would not be lost. Our delegation, which included five Americans, two Brazilians, two Nicaraguans, five Argentines, an exiled Cuban and a Mexican—all representing daily newspapers—listened intently as Zuccolillo reminded us of the two recent stints in jail he'd endured as Stroessner pressured him before deciding finally to close the newspaper. We determined we should not dwell with the president on restoring press freedom to Paraguay, since even before ABC's closing freedom of the press as other non-communist countries know it did not exist. In fact, Stroessner has controlled his fiefdom with martial law by renewing every 90 days (for 30 years!) a suspension of civil liberties. We would push a re-opening of the newspaper and the peoples' right to information, we determined, and avoid a confrontation on civil liberties.

Meanwhile—unknown to us—the president's political party, the Colorados, were papering the city with posters and banners attacking our organization. They had previously launched vicious attacks over the party radio station. We woke the next morning to a view outside our hotel of three-foot high red banners with large white letters stretching across the major downtown streets. Perhaps the most telling of them was the one that said, "Primer La Ley. Despues La S.I.P." (First the law. Then the Inter American Press Association.) In other words, law and order comes ahead of civil liberties in Paraguay.

The posters were everywhere:

"Free Press, Yes

"Libertinism, No

"Fatherland, Yes

"I.A.P.A., No"

or

"The I.A.P.A. Does Not Defend

"Freedom of the Press

"It Only Defends the

"Interests of Owners."

The scene was set. Our group divided up according to assignments. Three met with the Minister of Justice. Three carried our message to the Interior Minister, head of domestic security. Others interviewed the local bishop and made calls on the pro-government newspapers and broadcasters. My assignment, along with the president of IAPA, Horacio Aguirre, was to meet with Stroessner himself.

Our experience, later recounted with front-page color photos and stories in all three government-oriented dailies, began with a flourish. Greeted at the palace gate by the president's secretary of information, we were ushered into a session with the heads of each branch of the military. Also present was the minister of justice, who earlier had seen our colleagues. His message was that the publisher himself, Zuccolillo, had not actually asked the government to re-open the paper. Later, we realized this was an invitation to negotiate the re-opening, with perhaps the key trading stock being Zuccolillo's resignation as editor and publisher.

Ten minutes into the conversation an aide invited us into the president's office, which was lined on one side by still and television photojournalists. The shutters popped and we shook hands with Don Alfredo Stroessner, one of the world's most hated, yet misunderstood, chiefs of state.

The president then ushered us into a huge conference room, probably the cabinet chamber, adjoining his office. We asked the information secretary, who joined us at the

end of the mammoth table as the only other participant, how long we would have with the president. He did not answer. We hoped for the best and began the discussion of the re-opening of a newspaper.

The conversation was cordial and without acrimony. At 71, Stroessner is a husky six-footer who appears the picture of health. He lives unostentatiously and is known to rise before dawn for a workday that often runs from 4:30 a.m. to midnight. Despite his reputation abroad, in Paraguay he appears genuinely popular and apparently often can be seen driving about unaccompanied by bodyguards.

There are reasons for this, of course. Growth the past decade has averaged nearly 10 per cent per year, due largely to a massive hydroelectric dam project financed by Brazil. Asuncion is prosperous, much more so than I expected. It's not Buenos Aires or Montevideo, but it's far more prosperous than Managua or Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The tragic poverty so evident to travelers to Mexico, for example, is not seen even in the countryside. Interestingly, the most miserable housing on the 900 miles of roadway between Asuncion and Montevideo, Uruguay, is just across the border in Argentina, Latin America's most developed country.

But while to many of his countrymen Stroessner is a benevolent dictator and author of prosperity, others—like Zuccolillo and Gonzalez Delvalle—have seen the dark side, which can include widespread arrests without charge, exile, torture and even death. Since seizing power in a coup d'etat in 1954, General Stroessner has maintained a balance between coercion and tolerance. So long as it does not become unruly or threatening, opposition is tolerated within the facade of a republican system with an elected congress and re-election every fifth year of Stroessner himself as president. Martial law persists, however, through periods of relative liberalization that alternate unpredictably with crackdowns.

The closing March 22 of ABC Color seems to mark such a reversal. Earlier this year, at the urging of the new, popular president of Argentina, Raul Alfonsin, Stroessner permitted most of the exiled opposition living in Argentina to return home. It was ABC's coverage of their activities and comments, he told us, that led him to close the newspaper. The "irregular opposition" have a right to their own newspaper, he said, but Zuccolillo was providing them one free. We countered these statements with responses about the value of an independent source of news for economic, political and social development. We pointed out that in a democracy information and criticism should not be confused with subversion.

We also spoke of Paraguay's image in the Western democracies and explained that many foreign governments had hoped the return of the opposition signalled a permanent liberalization. We alluded to aid that would come to Paraguay if world opinion of his regime improved. This point, we believe, may be especially significant in view of the end of the construction phase of the hydroelectric project with Brazil. Stroessner now has hopes of a similar project with Argentina.

The president spoke with pride of Paraguay's prosperity. He described the stability he'd brought to the country after decades of a revolving-door presidency. He talked of Nicaragua, where his friend Anastasio Somoza fell to the Sandinista revolution. Somoza later took refuge in Paraguay but was assassinated on an Asuncion street by

Sandinista-hired gunmen. The attitude of our Nicaraguan colleagues, who now oppose the Sandinistas, interested him.

Our conversations evolved to nearly an hour's length, so finally we asked the general what we could tell our 1,200 member publications throughout the hemisphere about the future of *ABC Color*. He hedged. He alluded to the obstacle of the constitutional suit brought by Zuccolillo despite his earlier agreeing with us that, regardless of how the suit came out, reopening the paper rests in the hands of the executive. In the end, he said neither yes nor no. He left the door open to a reappearance of *ABC*.

We were not satisfied, but we were encouraged. We resolved to continue the campaign. Since returning home, we have solicited editorials of support from many of America's major dailies, which will be appearing in the next week. We arranged for more pressure from Argentina, and we are mailing a request for support to all our 1,200 member publications in both North and South America.

Stroessner has the power, we have only principle. We marshal our forces in the court of international opinion, which is our only battlefield. Our only weapon is public arousal.

We look forward to the next issue of *ABC Color*. We know only one thing it will contain. Zuccolillo told a university audience of more than a thousand persons the evening of our interview he'd already written the lead editorial for the next edition. He said it was too long to read, so he'd just give the title:

"Como siempre."
("As always.")

[From the Wichita Eagle-Beacon, July 5, 1984]

MR. STROESSNER: LET ABC REOPEN

It's to Paraguayan strongman Alfredo Stroessner's credit that he at least met with representatives of the Inter American Press Association regarding the government's closure of *ABC Color*, a leading Asuncion daily. Now he should take the logical next step, and allow what had been Paraguay's only independent newspaper to reopen.

The recent IAPA mission was led by Edward Seaton, publisher of the Manhattan Mercury and vice chairman of the IAPA executive committee. He and Horacio Aguirre of *Diario Las Americas* in Miami, IAPA president, met with Mr. Stroessner for about an hour. While the president wouldn't give a firm answer, he "left the door open," according to Mr. Seaton.

"Stroessner has the power, we have only principle," Mr. Seaton wrote in a Sunday full-page article. "We marshal our forces in the court of international opinion, which is our only battlefield. Our only weapon is public arousal."

The depth of that arousal can be seen from the support Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-KS, has received for her attempts to persuade Secretary of State George Shultz to intervene with Mr. Stroessner on *ABC*'s behalf. A letter to Mr. Shultz signed by nine other senators—including Sen. Bob Dole, R-KS—said, "Permitting *ABC Color* to reopen would demonstrate to members of Congress and to the American people that his government agrees with this fundamental principle (of a free press)."

For the people of Kansas, it would do even more. It would demonstrate to the citizenry of Paraguay's "sister state," under the Partners of the Americas program, that the

government of Paraguay will be sensitive, and responsive, to Kansans' feelings.

President Stroessner has much to gain and little to lose by exercising his executive powers to order *ABC*'s reopening. He should do so and, in the process, enhance his country's image immeasurably among the free nations of the world.

[From the Miami Herald, June 10, 1984]

PARAGUAY: POISON ON THE PRESS

(By Jim Hampton, Editor)

Just last month, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner marked his 30th anniversary as president of Paraguay. Two months earlier, he showed once again how he has kept his choke-hold on power longer than any other dictator now in office.

General Stroessner tolerates just enough dissent to make dissent both remarkable and dangerous in Paraguay. Witness the travails of *ABC Color*, the only independent newspaper in Asuncion, Paraguay's capital.

Publisher Aldo Zuccolillo, a self-made millionaire in other endeavors, started *ABC Color* 16 years ago. His motive, he told an interviewer last year, was the "I am a successful man, and I thought my people needed a newspaper that would tell the truth." He knew nothing about newspapering, so he taught himself, then his staff.

Both learned their lessons well—too well, by General Stroessner's lights. *ABC Color* is by any standard a good newspaper, covering both domestic and foreign affairs objectively. The Paraguayan people, thirsty for credible news coverage in a dictatorship, obviously trust *ABC Color*. By 1983 its circulation was 90,000 copies daily, averaging 60 to 70 pages each.

Since March 22, *ABC Color*'s circulation has been zero, however. On that day, on a flimsy and illegal pretext, the Stroessner regime closed *ABC Color*. Despite entreaties from various press organizations, the U.S. State Department and the U.S. embassy in Asuncion, and a bipartisan group in Congress, the newspaper remains closed.

Six days before the interior ministry closed this paper, the Paraguayan police arrested Mr. Zuccolillo. He was jailed incommunicado for a week, never formally charged as Paraguayan law requires. Instead, the Stroessner government accused him of "subverting public order," of "disrespect for the authorities," and—sin of sins!—of being "ill-bred." After his release from jail, he was kept temporarily under house arrest, enforced by armed guards.

His offense: *ABC Color* had covered meetings of opposition groups and published their leaders' statements. Never mind that *ABC Color* simply was doing its job: reporting a news event objectively. General Stroessner closed his iron fist around *ABC Color*.

While police cordoned off *ABC Color*'s offices, others accompanied by a judge searched desks and file cabinets in the newsroom. They assertedly were searching for "subversive material," and naturally they found items that fit their definition of "subversive." They carted off about 250 documents and articles to examine them.

Another independent voice in Asuncion, Radio Nanduti, had the temerity to protest the closing of *ABC Color*. That set General Stroessner's iron fingers to twitching. His minions suspended the station's broadcasting license for 30 days after its owner invited listeners to tell of government corruption on a call-in program. Further, Radio Nanduti's owner pointedly was reminded of "the

convenience" of his "ceasing to worry about the *ABC* case."

ABC Color's closing threw 400 employees out of work. All told, it severely affected some 2,000 families dependent on the newspaper's paychecks or orders. Mr. Zuccolillo, now free from jail but hardly free otherwise, has been trying to place his workers in other jobs. He has had only minimal success.

This was the courageous publisher's worst encounter with the Stroessner regime, but not the first. Mr. Zuccolillo, his leading political columnist, and a reporter were jailed last summer. Again their offense was simply reporting and commenting on events, including governmental corruption and inefficiency.

Nor is that the Stroessner regime's only method of suppressing *ABC Color*. General Stroessner has used effectively the dictator's favorite technique of denying feisty newspapers newsprint on which to publish. By this strangulation, General Stroessner shrank *ABC Color*'s average-size issue by half and its circulation by a third, to 60,000.

The Inter American Press Association's (IAPA) executive committee is scheduled to convene in Asuncion on June 22. These editors hope to meet with General Stroessner and to persuade him to permit *ABC Color* to resume publication.

They'd have a better chance of succeeding if other nations would join the United States in protesting this intolerable suppression of an independent, responsible newspaper. Better still, Congress should adopt a resolution, introduced by Rep. Tony P. Hall, Democrat of Ohio, to cut off all U.S. security assistance to Paraguay unless this repression ceases.

After his first jailing, last year, Mr. Zuccolillo told an American editor that "imprisonment by this regime is a medal." He now has two "medals." Unless Congress and other governments in the hemisphere join the IAPA in pressing General Stroessner to let up, another "medal"—or worse—for Mr. Zuccolillo is inevitable.

[From the New York Times, July 4, 1984]

MUZZLED—IN PARAGUAY

For most of his 30 years in power, nobody paid much attention to Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, leader of the dusty fiefdom of Paraguay. But change beckons there, and General Stroessner seems perplexed by the attention he's now getting. He insists the country is free—just as his Constitution says—and can't understand why foreigners are fussing about his closing of an allegedly subversive newspaper.

Here's why. *ABC Color* is at once Paraguay's leading newspaper and its conscience. Its owner and editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, has been brave enough to publish responsibly documented reports about corruption and human rights abuses. That he could do so, despite official harassment, showed that even a closed society can have windows of hope.

Last March, after *ABC Color* interviewed a returning political exile, it was closed on charges of "endangering the peace of the republic and the stability of its institutions." Mr. Zuccolillo was held without charges for a week and then briefly placed under house arrest. Since the paper's closing, he has paid its staff from his pocket.

Journalists elsewhere took up his cause. Where the notably moderate Inter-American Press Association sent representatives to Asuncion, they were greeted by hostile

demonstrators and invective of the state radio: "The pestilence of their mercenary presence does not please us." Nonetheless, President Stroessner received the delegation, and gave the impression that ABC Color just might be allowed to resume publication.

That would certainly begin to change Paraguay's reputation for political primitivism. Nothing that ABC Color might publish could damage President Stroessner as much as its continued silence. Mr. Zuccolillo's robust independence was the best advertisement for Paraguay. His real offense has been to take literally the fine language about press freedom in his country's Constitution. Muzzling him has demonstrated the fraudulence of its guarantees.

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 6, 1984]

PRESS CRACKDOWN IN PARAGUAY

President Alfredo Stroessner has run Paraguay with an iron hand for so long—30 years—that suppression has become a habit, even when his own self-interest cannot justify it.

For years, Paraguay was a recluse among nations, known mainly, if at all, for poverty and the harboring of former Nazis. As long as Gen. Stroessner could ship his opponents off to a sympathetic country like Argentina, which had a military dictatorship of its own, he had little to fear at home. He could allow a critical newspaper like ABC Color to continue publishing, albeit with some harassment, and cite it as evidence that Paraguay's press was free. What harm could a free press do with nobody on hand to support?

Last fall the Argentine voters threw out their military government, and the new president asked Gen. Stroessner to take back his exiles. Since Paraguay is counting on sharing the benefits of a giant hydroelectric plant planned by Argentina on the border, the general yielded with the vague proviso that his opponents not engage in politics.

ABC Color began printing interviews and otherwise promoting the views of the dissidents: On March 22, accusing the paper of publishing "seditious opinions" and being a "spokesman for irregular political groups," the government suspended the paper indefinitely and put its publisher, Aldo Zuccolillo, in jail for a week.

Ironically, Gen. Stroessner probably has less to fear politically now than at many times in the past. A big hydroelectric plant at Itaipu on the Brazilian border has improved the country's economy and the Argentine project should add to the comforts of progress. Opposition to the government, though apparent in some liberal and academic circles, does not seem to be widespread.

Last week Gen. Stroessner was visited by a delegation from the Inter American Press Association. The message was realistic: "Sure," it said in effect, "the matter is technically in the courts. But you control the courts and in the end, the decision is yours. You say you believe in freedom of the press. You can prove it by letting ABC Color reopen."

Gen. Stroessner didn't say yes or no. But he is going on 72, an age when political bosses begin to think about how history will remember them. He has little to lose, and if he really wants to be remembered as the man who brought Paraguay out of the dark ages, now is a good time to show that he accepts the free press as part of the age of enlightenment.

[From the Washington Post, June 21, 1984]

PARAGUAY'S EMBATTLED PRESS

Paraguay is one of those police states of the right that attempted to combine firm control of the political process and a limited leeway for the press. Thus has President Alfredo Stroessner managed over his 30 years of harsh and often vile one-man rule to maintain his power even while allowing some citizens to let off a bit of steam. The press is almost the only such outlet under a regime that otherwise relies on a range of sanctions extending to the threat of torture. In this tricky space the newspaper ABC Color has operated with a widely admired courage and flair. Its independent publisher, Aldo Zuccolillo, has regularly courted official rage and recrimination by pushing beyond the officially sanctioned limits on newspaper fare.

Last March 22, President Stroessner went beyond harassment and intimidation and closed ABC Color, ransacking the newspaper's offices and throwing its 100 employees out of work. The dated report was the usual official claptrap: subverting public order, serving as a mouth piece to political groups lacking official standing, disrespect for the authorities—code terms for what ought to be considered the normal practice of political journalism. As if that were not enough, the interior minister added that Mr. Zuccolillo is "ill bred." A radio station that protested the closing was itself suspended for 30 days.

The State Department and various American public figures and press organizations have protested the action against ABC Color, but the paper remains closed. The Inter American Press Organization is currently holding a meeting of its executive board in Asuncion in order to bring additional pressure to bear. President Stroessner should understand that he is isolating Paraguay from all decent opinion in the hemisphere. The journalists of ABC Color deserve to know they have the firm respect of their colleagues everywhere.

A FREE PRESS IN PARAGUAY

Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, I compliment the Senator from Kansas for her leadership in sponsoring this resolution. I believe that adoption of this resolution by the U.S. Senate would send a powerful message to the dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner.

General Stroessner's regime is perhaps best known as being the longest surviving dictatorship in the Americas. Stroessner has ruled his country with an iron hand since the 1950's and has shown little willingness to open up the political process in Paraguay. The single significant exception to this overall climate of repression in Paraguay was ABC Color, the only independent newspaper within that country. On March 22, General Stroessner apparently decided that ABC Color was showing a little bit too much independence for its own good. So, he ordered the paper's closure and had his subordinates vandalize ABC Color's offices. The paper's editor, Aldo Zuccolillo, was threatened and subsequently jailed by the Paraguayan authorities. After his release, Mr. Zuccolillo petitioned to have ABC Color's closure declared unconstitutional and to have

the paper reopened. On June 28, unfortunately and not surprisingly, the Paraguayan Supreme Court dismissed Mr. Zuccolillo's petition. So, ABC Color remains silent.

Despite its silence, ABC Color has not been forgotten by those throughout the Americas who believe in freedom of the press. The Inter-American Press Association has recognized the importance of this case by sending a delegation of important journalists that included the Association's President, Horacio Aguirre of Miami's *Diario Las Americas* and Pedro Chamorro of Managua's embattled *La Prensa*. I also commend Ambassador Arthur Davis and the American Embassy staff in Asuncion for their efforts to communicate the importance of human rights and a free press to various Paraguayan officials as well as to convey American concerns about the closure of ABC Color.

Mr. President, it is my hope that this resolution, which passed the House on June 29, would be quickly approved by my colleagues in the Senate. The passage of this resolution would remind General Stroessner that a free press is an integral part of a democratic and constitutional society. By permitting ABC Color to begin publishing again and by restoring freedom of the press, General Stroessner would show that constitutionalism still counts for something in Paraguay. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Ambassador Arthur Davis to me be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Asuncion, Paraguay, July 6, 1984.

HON. DAVE DURENBERGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR DURENBERGER: I wish to thank you for your recent letter to Secretary of State George Shultz expressing your concern over the shutting down of Paraguay's most important independent newspaper, ABC COLOR. Your letter helped underscore to the Paraguayan Government the importance which we in the United States attach to freedom of the press. I can assure you that your concerns were conveyed to the highest authorities. The translated copy of your letter I delivered to the Foreign Ministry was passed on to and read by senior officials.

We in the Embassy have explained to the Paraguayan Government that a pattern of violations of human rights and press freedom inevitably would place limits on the kind of relationship which the United States could maintain with Paraguay. Since the closure of ABC COLOR on March 22, I repeatedly have tried to make clear to Paraguayan officials that the action would be seen in the United States as a major step backwards. I have urged the Paraguayan Government to weigh carefully the enduring, negative impact which the paper's closure would undoubtedly have upon our bilateral relations.

I would like to be able to assure you that our collective efforts have carried the day and that ABC COLOR is again publishing. Unfortunately, that is not the case. On June 28 the Paraguayan Supreme Court unsurprisingly dismissed ABC COLOR's effort to have the closure declared unconstitutional. Although many within the Paraguayan Government assert that the case of ABC COLOR is closed, as far as this Embassy is concerned, we are not persuaded that the door is irrevocably shut.

Please be assured that this Embassy will continue to emphasize to President Stroessner and other Paraguayan leaders the strong support in the United States for the reopening of ABC COLOR. I hope that we can count on your continued interest in the fate of ABC COLOR.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR H. DAVIS,
Ambassador.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to add my voice in support of House Concurrent Resolution 331, which condemns the closing of the only independent newspaper in Paraguay, ABC Color. That continued act of suppression by the Stroessner dictatorship must not be ignored. This resolution, which was called up by unanimous consent in the House and passed by voice vote, urges that ABC Color be allowed to reopen. We should support it.

In recent months, there have been a few positive signs in Latin America, most notably in Argentina where the first civilian government in a long time has begun the painful work of binding up that nation's wounds. But in neighboring Paraguay, new wounds are being opened, and the old ones are festering anew.

Earlier this year, General Alfredo Stroessner marked his 30th year as President of Paraguay. His rule has been notable primarily for the poverty and oppression he has brought upon the people of Paraguay, while at the same time offering it up as a haven for Nazi fugitives.

In such an environment, we can all applaud the bravery and integrity of Paraguay's leading journalist, Aldo Zuccolillo, who has persistently endeavored to secure greater freedom for the press in Paraguay, despite Stroessner's heavy hand and the personal risks involved. Zuccolillo's newspaper, ABC Color, has been the proverbial breath of fresh air in the suffocating atmosphere fostered by the Stroessner dictatorship. The rules are strict, to be sure. When they are broken—by ABC Color or anyone else—retribution is swift and sure. Aldo Zuccolillo was jailed last summer, and again this spring. His newspaper has been denied newsprint. Others who have taken up the cause of a free press have been pointedly reminded where power lies in Paraguay. But Aldo Zuccolillo and his valiant staff still had the courage to print as much of the truth as they could. On March 22 of this year, General Stroessner decided he had seen enough.

On March 22, 1984, ABC Color was indefinitely closed by order of Paraguay's Interior Minister, and its premises searched. The Stroessner regime has kept it closed, despite protests from the U.S. Embassy, the Inter-American Press Association, and indeed, people of good will everywhere.

The Reagan administration has been outspoken in promoting its theory that "authoritarian" regimes, such as that in Paraguay, have the tendency to evolve into democratic governments. Clearly, the people of Paraguay are still waiting. Perhaps this administration is willing to wait patiently for the Stroessner regime to reform itself. But I am not, ABC Color is not, and neither should the U.S. Senate. I strongly support House Concurrent Resolution 331, and I urge my colleagues to pass it unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 331) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the preamble.

The preamble was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

CORRECTION IN ENROLLMENT OF H.R. 559

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, may I say to the minority leader that I propose next to ask consent to correct the enrollment of H.R. 559 and to adopt a concurrent resolution to that effect if there is no objection.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, there is no objection.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the minority leader.

Mr. President, then I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 340.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. ABDNOR]. The clerk will state the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 340) to correct technical errors in the enrollment of the bill H.R. 559.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 577— JUDICIARY COMMITTEE DIS- CHARGED FROM FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND OR- DERED PLACED ON THE CAL- NDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I propose now to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of House Joint Resolution 577, designating August 1984 as "Polish American Heritage Month," and to place that item on the calendar, if the minority leader does not object.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is no objection.

Mr. BAKER. I make that request, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER TO HOLD H.R. 5890 AT THE DESK

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I believe this matter has been cleared, and I will state it for the consideration of the minority leader.

I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 5890, the commission relating to the Martin Luther King holiday, be held at the desk until the close of business on Monday, July 30, 1984.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, there is no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I inquire of the minority leader if there is any portion of today's Executive Calendar he would be in a position to clear.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this side is ready to proceed on the military nominations, and I have just so indicated to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the minority leader. We did indeed confer privately just a moment ago.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session for the purpose of considering the military nominations beginning with and including Calendar Order No. 908, under the Air Force, and including all of the nominations placed on the Secretary's desk, which are nominations in the Air Force, Army, and Navy.

Mr. President, I am advised that there is a military appeals judge that perhaps may be cleared, as well. That

is Calendar Order No. 709 and I include that in the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE JUDICIARY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Walter T. Cox III, of South Carolina, to be a judge of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to recommend Judge Walter T. Cox III to the Senate for confirmation as President Reagan's nominee to be a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals. Judge Cox is a native and resident of Anderson, S.C. A graduate of Clemson University in 1964, he later earned his law degree at the University of South Carolina School of Law from which he was graduated first in his class in 1967.

He served in the U.S. Army as an officer in the Judge Advocate General Corps. He was a partner in a South Carolina law firm for a number of years and has extensive trial experience in both civil and criminal cases.

In 1978, Judge Cox was elected as a resident judge of the 10th judicial circuit in South Carolina. He has experience as an acting associate judge of the South Carolina Supreme Court and is active in various bar associations.

I am particularly proud that the President has chosen a distinguished citizen, attorney, and jurist from South Carolina for the important position of judge on the Court of Military Appeals. Judge Cox has excelled in all that he has undertaken and he is the type of person who has demonstrated intellect, judicial temperament, and leadership. These qualities will enable him to serve with distinction as a member of this Federal court.

During his confirmation hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Judge Cox demonstrated a detailed and in-depth knowledge of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and its relationship in maintaining good order and discipline in the military services. The Senate Armed Services Committee was unanimous in its recommendation to the Senate that Judge Cox be confirmed as a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

Mr. President, I urge all of my colleagues to join me in a unanimous confirmation of Judge Walter T. Cox III, to be a member of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

AIR FORCE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lt. Gen. George M. Brown, Jr., for appointment to the grade

of lieutenant general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Maj. Gen. Casper T. Spangrud, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. Wilbur L. Creech for appointment to the grade of general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. Jerome F. O'Malley under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be reassigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

NAVY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Rear Adm. Thomas E. Flynn, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148(b), to be assigned as Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Air Force, Army, and Navy, placed on the Secretary's desk.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nominations were confirmed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, that completes my business. We have provided for time for the transaction of routine morning business until 4 p.m. this afternoon. It is my understanding that perhaps the minority leader has matters he wishes to take up at this time.

Mr. President, in the past we have, for the convenience of Senators so that they may be fully aware of the floor situation as we proceed in morning business and to hear another presentation by the distinguished minority leader on the history of the Senate, that no business be transacted except the presentation of that speech by the Senator from West Virginia, the minority leader, and that at the conclusion of his speech the Chair automatically place the Senate in adjournment pursuant to the order previously entered.

Mr. President, I make that request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, there will be no votes today and no business transacted today with the exception now of the presentation of and remarks of the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader for his courtesy on this occasion as on all previous occasions with respect to making provision for me to make a statement during morning business without a time limitation thereon up to the hour of 4 p.m. today.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair for the patience of the present Presiding Officer. I regret that I have imposed upon the Chair by the delay which has ensued.

Mr. President, this is the 69th speech that I have made on the subject of the U.S. Senate. The title of today's speech is "The Senate And

The Great Debate Over Foreign Policy, 1919-1941."

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

THE SENATE AND THE GREAT DEBATE OVER FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1941

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, Marines landing in the Caribbean and Central America . . . United States opposition to Sandinistas in Nicaragua . . . a presidential representative sent to mediate between opposing forces in Central America . . . a United States senator standing in this chamber and denouncing attempts to "browbeat and whip a little country like Nicaragua. . . ." It all sounds very familiar. However, I am not talking about recent events, but about a debate which took place in the Senate some sixty years ago. Reviewing these events, and their similarity to our times, I am reminded of the inscription on the National Archives Building: "What is Past is Prologue."

It has been a recurring theme of my addresses on the history of the United States Senate that we must become aware of our past in order to understand and deal with the present and plan for the future. This seems particularly true when dealing with foreign policy. Today I shall examine the Senate's role in foreign policy between the first and second World Wars, from the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 to the declarations of war against Japan, Germany, and Italy in 1941. There occurred during these years a "great debate," not only in the Senate, but also in the Nation as a whole. On one side stood the Wilsonian internationalists, Democrats and moderate Republicans largely from the South and Northeast, who believed that the United States had responsibilities as a world leader that it could not shirk, and that the best way to exercise those responsibilities to ensure world peace was by cooperating through international organizations. In opposition stood the isolationists, who recalled George Washington's warning against entangling alliances, and who believed that multilateral ventures might jeopardize the Nation's security and independence.

As events unfurled, the isolationists lost the "great debate." The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and American entry into the war discredited their position. In short order, most of the isolationists either left the Senate, through death, defeat, and retirement, or converted to internationalism. It would not be for another generation, until the Vietnam war, that people would begin to reexamine the isolationists and find at least a little merit

in their concerns. Some scholars have suggested that even the terms isolationist and interventionist are misleading, and have suggested "unilateralist" and "multilateralist" as alternatives.²

For most of the two decades between the world wars, isolationism prevailed. Isolationists were particularly strong in the United States Senate, where they numbered among their ranks William E. Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Hiram Johnson, Burton K. Wheeler, George Norris, Robert M. La Follette (senior and junior), Arthur Vandenberg, and Robert Taft. Most were Republicans representing mid-Western and far Western states. From 1919 to 1932, when the Republicans were in the majority, these isolationists held important committee chairmanships. After 1933, when the Democrats took control of the Senate, the isolationists lost their power base, but remained influential in the national debate over foreign policy.

The Senate's rejection of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 ranked among the most momentous events in the history of this institution. In an earlier address I spoke of the political forces and reasons behind the treaty's defeat. Today I will be discussing the period of retreat and disillusionment that followed it. The election of 1920 had placed a United States senator, Warren G. Harding of Ohio, in the White House. Harding had conducted his campaign so ambiguously that it was possible for both supporters and opponents of the League of Nations to vote for him, contributing to his landslide victory. But in fact, Harding's election meant the final rejection of American participation in the League. Even presidential support for United States membership in the World Court came to nothing. After the war, the United States slipped into a mood of self-centered isolationism. The Nation erected high-tariff walls around itself, and held its struggling allies accountable for paying their war debts. Such economic nationalism was extremely short-sighted at a time when the United States had become the leading commercial and financial nation, industrial producer, exporter and importer, and creditor in the world—and it would prove self-defeating as well.

As president, Warren Harding expected to maintain strong ties with his former colleagues in Congress. But Harding, too, like Woodrow Wilson, found that Congress had a mind of its own when it came to foreign policy. As early as December 1920, before Harding's inauguration, Senator William Borah introduced a resolution calling on the president to invite Great Britain and Japan to a conference to reduce their naval building programs. As Professor LeRoy Ashby has written in his study of Borah (*The Spearless*

Leader), the senator masterfully struck a major chord of public opinion. "His disarmament suggestion appealed strongly to the traditional American distrust of military establishments, the desire for peace, and the perennial concern for lower taxes."³ Some said that Borah's action was merely a publicity ploy to divert public blame for world affairs from the isolationists, and that he never believed Britain, France, and Japan would accept the invitation. But popular support and newspaper approval forced the Harding administration into taking up the proposal, and Britain and Japan agreed to meet in Washington to negotiate naval disarmament. At the Washington Naval Arms Disarmament Conference, held between November 1921 and February 1922, Senators Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA) and Oscar W. Underwood (D-AL) served as delegates—in contrast to President Wilson's failure to include members of Congress in the Versailles delegation. However, Senator Borah was noticeably absent.

Harding's inclusion of senators in the negotiation proved a wise move, since he needed all the help he could get to win Senate ratification. The isolationists denounced the treaty as an alliance that committed the United States to Japanese aggression in the Far East. Senator A. Owsley Stanley of Kentucky labeled it a "baby" League of Nations. Senator Borah also cited similarities between the "Four Powers Pact" of the Washington conference and the rejected Treaty of Versailles. Speaking for the Harding administration, Senator Lodge denied any entanglements involved with the new pact. Democratic senators criticized the secrecy behind much of the negotiations, and Senator Gilbert Hitchcock introduced a resolution calling on the president to furnish the Senate with copies of all proceedings, records, negotiations, arguments, debates, discussions, and conversations among representatives of the four nations.⁴ Ratification was given by the Senate easily, 67 to 27, with Senator Borah in the minority opposing it. The Washington Naval Conference produced mixed results. It limited the production of large warships, but allowed an arms race to continue in submarines, destroyers, and cruisers. It called for the status quo in the Far East, with each nation recognizing the others' territories there, but it left Japan in a position to threaten China. Nevertheless, the conference and the treaty were remarkable events which brought the United States back into the international scene just two years after the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles.

Mr. President, it seems only fitting at this point that I talk about a truly notable member of the United States

Footnotes at end of article.

Senate, William E. Borah of Idaho. He served as a senator from 1907 until his death in 1940, and even today his firm, jutting jaw, lion-like mane, and resolute stance can be observed in his statue, which stands in the corridor just outside this chamber. William E. Borah was born in 1865, in southern Illinois, into a large German-American family. We are told that his father was a stern Presbyterian who ruled over his family with a firm hand, and that young Borah experienced an unhappy childhood. Briefly he attended the Southern Illinois Academy in preparation for the ministry, but after discovering that was not his vocation he dropped out and joined a traveling Shakespearean company as an actor! His training in Shakespeare became evident years later when he spoke here on the Senate floor. But an actor's life was not to be Borah's, and his irate father caught up with the troop and dragged his son home. Young Borah then went to live with his sister in Kansas, where he completed high school and enrolled in the University of Kansas. His classmates recalled him as a loner with few intimate friends. A bout with tuberculosis forced Borah to leave the University, and he turned his attention to reading law in an attorney's office. Admitted to the bar in 1887, Borah decided there was not much future for a young lawyer in then economically-depressed Kansas. He boarded a train for a new life in Seattle, but he was so short of funds that he made it only as far as Boise, Idaho. There he stayed and there he built his career.

William Borah excelled as a criminal lawyer, often handling cases as a special prosecutor for the local district attorney. In 1897, as Professor William Leuchtenburg has noted, Borah "secured the conviction of 'Diamondfield Jack' Davis, a gunman for a cattle company, for the murder of two sheep herders, one of the milestones in the attempt to bring order out of the bloody range wars of the West." His fame in the courtroom led to his entry into politics, and by 1902 he was the recognized leader of the progressive wing of the Republican party in Idaho. His election to the Senate seemed certain in 1903, but his opponents allegedly purchased enough votes in the state legislature to defeat him. Finally, in January 1907, the state legislature elected him to the United States Senate. He almost did not make it to the Senate, however, for he was indicted for defrauding the government of timber lands in Idaho during a period when he served as counsel to a lumber company. The charges, however, had clearly been trumped up by Borah's political enemies, and he was promptly acquitted. The notoriety helped Borah escape the obscurity that was then the lot of most freshmen senators, and his tremendous eloquence also lifted him

head and shoulders above his colleagues.⁵

Mary Borah, the senator's wife, was sitting in the Senate gallery on the day in 1908 when her husband rose to deliver his maiden address. "The day he was to speak I arrived at the Senate early in the morning and sat on the front row," she recalled.

Finally the 'morning business' was finished and I saw Billy push back his chair to rise, but a senator with a white beard was ahead of him and was given the floor. The senator was known for being long winded. To my surprise, after reading a letter from a constituent, he sat down. Billy rose. He stood there quietly for a while studying his audience. He began to talk in a low but easily audible voice, and then with gathering confidence. His colleagues looked at him curiously. Probably they were sizing him up. Usually when a senator speaks the other members thumb through the papers on their desks, or write, or study, or talk to each other in undertones. . . . But all the time he was marshalling his facts—as methodically as if presenting a case to a jury—they continued to listen. Then the galleries began to fill. By the time he was ready to draw his conclusions he was speaking to a crowded house, absolutely silent.

When he had finished, and fellow senators crowded around to congratulate him, Mrs. Borah slipped away in the crowd. "It would be easier when we were alone to tell him how proud I'd been," she said.⁶

Borah's influence in the Senate was felt from the start. While still a freshman he became chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, where he sponsored bills to create the Department of Labor and the Children's Bureau. He was also a leader in the fight to amend the Constitution to allow Federal income taxes and, as I have noted in an earlier address, direct election of senators. But it was the field of foreign policy with which Borah's name became most commonly associated. An intense nationalist, he stood among the chief opponents of Woodrow Wilson's internationalist program, and he joined Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as an "irreconcilable" against the Versailles Treaty and League of Nations. When Senator Lodge died in 1924, Borah succeeded him as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, a post which he held until the Democrats took control of the committee in 1933.

It seemed impossible to pick up a newspaper in the 1920's without reading a Borah pronouncement on some aspect of American policy. Herbert Hoover credited Borah with "a positive genius for newspaper publicity." Borah's practice of holding regular press conferences caused President

Coolidge to comment that "Senator Borah is always in session." Reporters would congregate at his office about 3:00 p.m. each afternoon. Twenty or more journalists might crowd around his desk for a relaxed and informal discourse on a wide range of topics. At these sessions they could not quote him directly, but Borah's staff would frequently hand out his prepared statements on a particular subject. His press relations were the envy of other senators, and a source of exasperation for his political opponents. As one Massachusetts newspaper complained in 1930: "Borah this and Borah that, Borah here and there, Borah does and Borah doesn't—until you wish that Borah wasn't."⁷

Several American presidents might also have wished that "Borah wasn't," as the wiley senator frustrated their proposals. After Calvin Coolidge became president in 1923, he proposed United States membership in the World Court. It was hard to make an argument that participation in the court would lead to entangling alliances or impinge on the Nation's independence. But the hard core isolationists adamantly opposed the plan and did their best to sabotage it. Both political parties endorsed the World Court in their platforms in 1924, and the House passed a resolution favoring membership by the overwhelming vote of 303 to 28. Nevertheless, Senator Borah was not to be deterred. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Borah delayed the debate and attached five "reservations" to American participation. In January 1926, the Senate adopted the World Court proposal, with Borah's reservations, by a 76 to 17 margin. The League of Nations, however, would accept only four of the five reservations, and President Coolidge declared the American conditions rejected. The twenty-one member nations on the Court informed Coolidge that they were willing to negotiate, but the president responded: "I do not think the Senate would take favorable action on any such proposal, and unless the requirements of the Senate resolution are met by the other interested nations I can see no prospect of this country adhering to the Court."⁸

In a more positive sense, Borah's name was also linked with the 1920's movement to outlaw war. Always suspicious of international agreements, Borah was not an enthusiastic supporter of "Outlawry," as the movement was called, but his endorsement was critical to its success. Borah believed that European policies were leading to another war, no matter what the United States might try to do. But bending to an intense lobbying effort from anti-war groups, he continued to introduce Outlawry resolutions. After French Foreign Affairs Minister

Aristide Briand proposed a bilateral pact between France and the United States, Borah actively supported the proposal. In a meeting with Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, Borah convinced the administration to broaden the proposal to a multinational pact. The result was the Kellogg-Briand pact, in which sixty-two nations pledged never to resort to war and aggression. This "noble experiment," of course, lasted only a decade, until the world was once again plunged into war—which could not be so easily outlawed.⁹

Senator Borah also strenuously opposed American intervention in Nicaragua. During the administration of William Howard Taft the United States had replaced Great Britain as the major foreign power in Nicaragua. When a revolution erupted in that nation in 1912, the United States sent 2,600 troops to quell it. One hundred Marines were left behind to guard the United States legation, the beginning of a twenty-year occupation of Nicaragua.¹⁰ The presence of American military forces in Nicaragua and other Central American and Caribbean nations seemed entirely indefensible to Senator Borah. In 1922 he observed that "The people of Nicaragua today are being exploited in shameful fashion by American corporations protected by United States Marines." In 1925 he declared "the invasion of Nicaragua was unnecessary and therefore unmoral." He asserted that the Monroe Doctrine "does not give to us the right . . . to invade territory, to tear down governments and set up others."¹¹

In 1926, as a result of an insurrection led by General Augustino Sandino, the United States once again dispatched Marines to Nicaragua. Borah at first accepted the Coolidge administration's rationale that it had sent troops only to protect American lives in Nicaragua, but he became increasingly suspicious of the State Department's motives. In January 1927, after meeting with Secretary of State Kellogg, Borah announced his opposition to the administration's policies in Nicaragua. The survival of the regime there, he said, was due entirely to the "sheer force of foreign arms." This stance caused many Latin American leaders to send congratulations to the senator for his "brilliant defense in favor of sovereignty of all the nations of the earth, equal before the law," as the former president of Chile wrote. Borah then introduced a resolution calling for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to travel to Nicaragua and Mexico to hear testimony there. But administration supporters on the committee blocked his efforts. One newspaper suggested that if Senator Borah wanted to go to Nicaragua at government expense he should join the Marines!¹²

Despite Borah's protests, American Marines remained in Nicaragua until President Hoover withdrew them in 1933. The long years of American occupation had not left Nicaragua a stable or peaceful nation. General Sandino had promised to negotiate with the government once the Marines left, but on his departure from a meeting with the Nicaraguan president in 1934, Sandino was ambushed and assassinated by the Nicaraguan National Guard. The commander of the Guard who issued the orders of execution was General Anastasio Somoza, who shortly thereafter seized power in a civil war. For the next forty years Somoza and his two sons would rule Nicaragua, with the support of the United States, until the Sandinista victory in 1979.¹³ Nicaragua, of course, remains very much in our minds today. We stand linked to our history in that region, and many members of the Senate will share the misgivings voiced by Senator Borah in the 1920's.

The image of American troops stationed in Nicaragua shatters the "isolationist" stereotype of the United States in the 1920's. American foreign policy in those years might better be described as nationalistic and "unilateralist." It was a decade that saw a concerted effort to stem the historical tide of immigration into the United States and to favor certain groups of immigrants over the rest. One of the first bills President Harding signed was the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, which set national quotas for immigrants, and which discriminated against those from southern and eastern Europe. The Immigration Act of 1924 was even more restrictive, cutting immigration from Italy, for example, by nine-tenths.

Congress and the administration of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge also continued to press America's wartime allies for repayment of their war debts. This forced the allies in turn to press Germany for reparations. The problem, of course, was that neither the allies nor the Germans had the means to make those payments, as they struggled to rebuild after the war. The war debts remained a problem until 1931, when President Herbert Hoover arranged a one-year moratorium on repayment, which led to the eventual forgiving of the debts.¹⁴

The Hoover administration, although it could claim many admirable policies, from the beginning of the "good neighbor" approach to Latin America to the war debt moratorium, also stumbled badly in foreign policy. Perhaps its most disastrous move was its support of the all-time high Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which triggered a wave of tariff retaliations against the United States and greatly depressed international trade. Senator Borah and other Western and mid-Western progressive and isolationist senators

took the lead in attacking Smoot-Hawley. In general they stood in opposition to Hoover's programs.

Ironically, the Progressive Republicans voted more consistently with the new Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt than they had under twelve years of Republican presidents. In light of Roosevelt's later and monumental break with the isolationists, it is important to remember that many progressive/isolationists were attracted to Roosevelt, endorsed his candidacy over Hoover's, and supported the New Deal's early domestic and foreign policies. Democratic Senator Key Pittman of Nevada replaced William Borah as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, but Borah remained ranking Republican on the committee and continued to have a powerful voice in foreign affairs. Robert La Follette, Jr., George Norris, Gerald Nye, and other progressives also played important roles in the "great debate" of the 1930's.¹⁵

By 1933, when Roosevelt became president, the isolationists were fairly solid in their positions, formed over the past two decades. They had come to see American entry into the first World War as a great mistake, not to be repeated again. And they had formed strong ideas as to how American neutrality from European wars should be preserved. As Professor Wayne Cole has written in his recent study of *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, the isolationists "did not oppose all American activity abroad, but they wanted to leave Americans free to determine for themselves when, where, how, and whether the United States should involve itself abroad. They did not want to be bound by prior commitments in alliances or international organizations. . . . They opposed any American efforts to police the world or to rebuild the world in an American image. . . . They urged legislation restraining the president, the military, big business, and financiers as they operated in foreign affairs."¹⁶

Against the isolationists now stood the most politically skillful of our twentieth century presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By 1933 Roosevelt also had formulated many ideas on America's role in the world. He was the legate of two major traditions of the earlier Progressive Era. As a relative of President Theodore Roosevelt he accepted "Teddy's" view of a militarily strong America taking its place as a mediator of world affairs. As a former member of Woodrow Wilson's administration, he also believed in international cooperation through such organizations as the League of Nations and the World Court.

Roosevelt had run as the vice presidential candidate on the ill-fated Democratic ticket of 1920, supposedly the "great referendum" on American

participation in the League, and he had clearly learned both from that defeat and Wilson's sad last years that a president can only lead when the people are willing to follow. A president must be a careful educator of public opinion, which is why Roosevelt often played a cautious and crafty game rather than leading bold frontal assaults on unpopular issues.¹⁷ Franklin Roosevelt, as Professor Cole has aptly described him, was "intuitive rather than systematic, artful rather than scientific, and innovative rather than doctrinaire. He was highly flexible and shied away from rigid formulas or systems. He liked to play with ideas, to explore alternative approaches, without irrevocably committing himself to any single policy or approach. He was not troubled by inconsistencies. He had the emotional self-confidence and political realism that allowed him to abandon policies that did not work or methods that proved ineffective. He kept his options open."¹⁸

It is impossible to discuss or understand the nature of the great debate of the 1930's without mentioning the world forces involved. On March 5, 1933, the day after Roosevelt's inauguration, Adolph Hitler gained absolute power as dictator over Germany. At that same time, the Japanese had walked out of the League of Nations, rather than accept its sanctions. Fascism in Europe and Japanese aggression in the Far East were two persistent threats to world peace and to America's security in the 1930's. And yet, as William Leuchtenberg has noted, "this was a peril most Americans chose to ignore." The Depression was foremost in their minds, and they had long since abandoned any hope that the League could solve world problems. The Nation's chief concern about world affairs was to keep out of them. President Roosevelt, keenly aware of the prevailing public sentiment, had announced during his 1932 campaign that he opposed American entry into the League, but he had not abandoned his faith in Wilsonian internationalism.¹⁹

Shortly after becoming president, Roosevelt stressed the need for international economic cooperation, and sent delegates to a world economic conference in London. But as events progressed, the president became concerned that international agreements not tie his hands in dealing with the domestic economic crisis. The failure of the London conference was largely the result of Roosevelt's unwillingness to cooperate. In other areas the unwillingness to cooperate came from Congress. In the spring of 1933, Roosevelt considered working with the European powers on a collective security arrangement, coupled with a presidential declaration of an arms embargo against aggressors. In the Foreign Re-

lations Committee, California Progressive Republican Senator Hiram Johnson proposed an amendment stipulating that any embargo must apply equally to all belligerents. Senator Pittman, chairman of the committee, told the president that the arms embargo could not pass without the Johnson amendment. Roosevelt let the matter drop.²⁰

The isolationists had the public's ear. In January 1934 Senator Borah delivered a strong defense of isolationism to the Council on Foreign Relations, which was published in their prestigious journal, *Foreign Affairs*.²¹ Even more public attention went to Borah's attack on munitions manufacturers, whom he called "international racketeers," and on whom many isolationists blamed the first World War and current war scares. *Fortune* magazine published "Arms and the Men," which was reprinted in condensed form in *Reader's Digest*, denouncing those who profited by war. The public outrage over this and other similar publications led to the creation in 1934 of a special Senate committee to investigate the munitions industry. One historian has described this committee as more of a court than a congressional investigation, hearing the case of "*Peace-Loving and Moral People v. Manufacturers and Salesmen of Implements of War*."

Chairing this special committee was 42-year-old Gerald P. Nye, a progressive Republican senator from North Dakota, and a staunch isolationist. Nye, who had introduced the resolution calling for the investigation, was elected to the chairmanship by other committee members, despite the Democratic majority in the Senate. This was a measure of their respect for the progressive-minded Nye—who had previously battled the policies of the Coolidge and Hoover administrations—and a recognition of his public identification with the issue. Also serving on the committee were Democrats Walter George, Bennett Champ Clark, Homer Bone, and James Pope, and Republicans Warren Barbour and Arthur Vandenberg. From the start, Senator Nye had very clear in his mind the ultimate purpose of the investigation. "I confidently predict that when the Senate investigation is over, we shall see that war and preparation for war is not a matter of national honor and national defense, but a matter of profit for few," he publicly declared. The hearings opened with great public fanfare on September 4, 1934, in the Senate Caucus Room. The committee held ninety-three hearings over the next two years, concentrating on the manufacturing and sale of munitions, activities of United States shipbuilders, and the economic circumstances of American entry into World War I, with the ultimate question being: who

would profit by the Nation's entry into the "next war."

Despite an impressive array of witnesses, including Pierre Du Pont and J. P. Morgan, Jr., the Nye committee uncovered little evidence to prove its thesis. Yet, it reinforced popular sentiments that America had been lured into the Great War not over its neutrality rights or national security, but because of bankers' investments in the Allied nations, and munition makers' and shipbuilders' desire to sell their wares. It helped create the political climate that produced the neutrality legislation of the mid-1930's, although it failed to achieve its chief objectives of nationalizing the arms industry, and reducing profits in time of war.

The committee's reputation also suffered mightily by a tactical blunder on the part of its chairman, Senator Nye. During the hearings in January 1936, Nye claimed that President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing had "falsified" about their knowledge of secret treaties. Newspapers translated "falsified" to "lied," which led two devoted Wilsonians in the Senate to respond angrily. Senator Tom Connally of Texas denounced Nye's charge as "infamous." "Some checker-playing, beer-drinking, back room of some low house is the only place fit for the kind of language which the senator from North Dakota, the chairman of the committee, this senator who is going to lead us out toward peace, puts into the RECORD about a dead man, a great man, a good man, a man who when alive had the courage to meet his enemies face to face and eye to eye," shouted Connally on the Senate floor. The following day, Senator Nye stood to respond, defending his statement and refusing to apologize. The Senate chamber was packed. Every Democratic seat was filled, and many members of the House crowded in to observe the debate. The most emotional speech of the day came from Virginia's Senator Carter Glass, who had served as Secretary of the Treasury in the Wilson administration. Beating his fist upon his desk until he broke the skin and blood dripped from his knuckles, Glass denounced Nye for "dirt-daubing the sepulcher of Woodrow Wilson." As Democratic senators cheered and applauded, Glass concluded: "Now, Mr. President, lest I should infringe those rules which I always obey, perhaps I should better desist, because what I feel like saying here or anywhere else to the man who thus insults the memory of Woodrow Wilson is something which may not be spoken here, or printed in the newspapers, or uttered by a gentleman." Nye's blunder and Glass's indignant response sealed the doom of the Nye Munitions Investigation. The special committee had run out of money, and the Democratic majority in the Senate had no inten-

tion of providing a continuing forum for a Republican senator to attack one of their great leaders. A month later the committee brought its hearings to a close.²²

Secretary of State Cordell Hull later claimed in his memoirs that the Nye committee "aroused an isolationist sentiment that was to tie the hands of the administration" in dealing with the rising tide of aggression in Europe and Asia. "The Nye committee hearings," he said, "furnished the isolationist springboard for the first Neutrality Act."²³ This act was the first of three pieces of neutrality legislation Congress enacted between 1935 and 1937 to avoid a repetition of the forces and influences that had swept the United States into the first World War. These bills demonstrated that while we must study the past, and understand the past, we can not legislate against it. Perhaps the neutrality acts of 1935, '36, and '37 might have prevented American entry into World War I, but they were helpless to prevent our entry into World War II.

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in May 1935 set in motion the first neutrality bill. Senator Nye and Senator Clark offered legislation proposing an arms embargo to all belligerents, and wanted the Nye Committee to hold hearings. Senator Pittman and Senator Borah, chairman and ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, insisted that their committee held jurisdiction over the matter, causing the munitions committee members to back down. In the meantime, the State Department had drafted its own version of the proposed legislation, hoping to supplant the Nye-Clark proposals. In a "mad scramble" behind the scenes, a compromise was reached on a mandatory arms embargo. Senator Pittman drafted a resolution, but neither the Senator nor the President expected Congress to pass the bill before it adjourned. "It was designed largely to appease public opinion," Professor Cole suggests. Senate isolationists, however, were determined to bring the matter to a vote, and staged a filibuster to keep the Senate from adjourning.

The isolationists won their case. Pittman introduced the bill and the Senate passed it without debate. The measure then went to the House, which also passed it quickly. Some internationalists hoped that the President would veto the act, but in spite of his objections, Roosevelt approved it. When he signed the bill, Roosevelt warned that its "inflexible provisions might drag us into war instead of keeping us out." Nevertheless, the arms embargo, and provisions that prohibited Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, was now law.²⁴ Between the aggressor and the victim in Ethiopia, the United States would

not choose sides. That we were willing to close our eyes to the Italian invasion certainly was not lost upon the Italians, Germans, and Japanese as they planned their expansionist policies.

In 1936 Roosevelt hoped to amend the neutrality law to apply the arms embargo only against aggressors, but the measure stood no chance of passage. The neutrality act of 1936 extended the earlier law for another year, adding a loan ban to the arms embargo. Again events outside the United States shaped American policy. In July 1936 a bloody civil war broke out in Spain, with Germany and Italy supporting the military rebels and the Soviet Union backing the government forces. Again the United States remained neutral.

By 1937 the Roosevelt administration decided there was no way it could shape neutrality legislation in Congress, given the prevailing moods, and no new proposals. Senator Pittman, however, introduced his own sweeping, permanent neutrality bill. This bill would not only continue provisions of past neutrality legislation, but would add cash-and-carry requirements that belligerents pay for all American goods and ship them on their own vessels. Even this measure failed to satisfy isolationists like William Borah and Hiram Johnson, who voted against the bill in committee. But on March 3 the Senate passed the Neutrality Act of 1937 by a 63 to 6 margin, again with Borah and Johnson voting in the minority.²⁵

Although members of the Senate and House had marched in step to produce legislation to keep the United States out of war in Europe, they began to feel dissension in their own ranks concerning the war clouds in Asia. Senator George Norris of Nebraska, who was proud of his vote against American entry into World War I, and who had supported each of the neutrality bills, was dismayed over Japan's ruthless and militaristic behavior in China. In July 1937, when Japanese planes sank the American ship *Panay*—by a surprise attack on a Sunday morning, by the way—Senator Norris called Japan "an outlaw nation." Japanese aggression caused Norris to begin to alter his views about neutrality, as his biographer Richard Lowitt has noted. "It is a terrible thing," Norris wrote, "to realize we live in a world in which we must arm ourselves in order to preserve our safety."²⁶

On October 5, 1937, President Roosevelt responded to events in Asia and Europe in an address in Chicago—then the very center of mid-Western isolationism. Roosevelt noted that as law, order, and justice were being wiped away around the world, no one should imagine that America would be spared. There could be "no escape through

mere isolation or neutrality." He called for peace-loving nations to "quarantine" aggressors. "America hates war," he concluded. "America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace." The speech brought forth a storm of protest. Senator Nye feared the president was trying to police the world. "We reach now a condition on all fours with that prevailing just before our plunge into the European war in 1917," he declared. Some isolationist congressmen called for Roosevelt's impeachment. The *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed: "Stop Foreign Meddling; America Wants Peace." The president backed away from the controversy. "It's a terrible thing to look over your shoulder when you're trying to lead," he said privately, "and find no one there."²⁷

The isolationists believed the United States should go to war only if first attacked. Senator Borah objected to "this running around over the world trying to placate every situation and adjust every controversy." It was "not the business of democracy," he cautioned. Fear that somehow the president would drag the United States unwillingly into war, and that the majority in Congress would capitulate, spurred a movement for a constitutional amendment. Congressman Louis Ludlow of Indiana, a former Washington newspaper correspondent with a sense for public opinion, proposed an amendment requiring a national referendum before Congress could declare war (except in case of attack). Public opinion showed that almost three-quarters of the American public favored the Ludlow amendment, and its narrow defeat in the House of Representatives was probably attributable to the nervousness of many members following the Japanese attack on the *Panay*.²⁸

As the world situation grew tenser, the Roosevelt administration moved tentatively toward a more internationalist stance, while the isolationists intensified their efforts. As so often happens in a debate, the arguments became more extreme as the lines became more firmly drawn. An air of unreality surrounded some of the isolationists' arguments, best illustrated in an interview which Senator Borah gave in 1938. "The United States is getting worked up over the prospect of war. I'm not," he told a reporter. "You are a young man as compared to me and neither of us will live to see the day when the United States is invaded. With the Atlantic on one side and the vast Pacific on the other we are safe. It would be folly, from a military standpoint, for another country to try to invade us and they know it." Borah was right in calling it folly, and in saying he would not live to see an attack, but tragically wrong in think-

ing another country would not try it, as Pearl Harbor proved three years later.²⁹

Regardless of the debate in America, the movement toward world war progressed ominously. In March 1936 Germany reoccupied the Rhineland in violation of the Versailles Treaty. In November of that year, Germany, Italy, and Japan formed a military alliance. In September 1938 Hitler threatened to invade Czechoslovakia, until British and French leaders flew to Munich to appease him. In August 1939, Hitler's Germany signed a non-aggression pact with Stalin's Russia. Realizing that war was imminent, President Roosevelt lobbied with key senators for repeal of the arms embargo. But his appeals were rebuffed. "Well, Captain, we may as well face the facts," Roosevelt's crusty vice president, John Nance Garner told him. "You haven't got the votes, and that's all there is to it." On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. This time, no longer willing to appease Hitler's insatiable appetite, Britain and France declared war. The Second World War had begun. President Roosevelt proclaimed a limited national emergency and put the Neutrality Act of 1937 into effect. "This Nation will remain a neutral nation," he said in a radio address, "but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well."³⁰

President Roosevelt called Congress back into special session to repeal the arms embargo, to aid victims of aggression, and to allow belligerent nations—in effect the Allied nations—to purchase American munitions on a "cash-and-carry" basis. This policy, he insisted, would aid the Allies without drawing the United States into the war. The isolationists vehemently disagreed. Public opinion polls showed deep-felt American support for the British and French against the Germans, but the same polls also showed the great majority of Americans wanted their country to stay out of the war. Senator Borah broadcast a radio address to the Nation insisting that neutrality was possible, and that American involvement in the war was not inevitable. Borah denounced the repeal of the arms embargo, but President Roosevelt had lined up the 1936 Republican presidential and vice presidential candidates, Alfred M. Landon and Frank Knox, to issue statements supporting the repeal, immediately after Borah's broadcast. And so the war for public opinion raged.³¹

Events in Europe and Roosevelt's shrewd and careful leadership began to shift the tide. Isolationists like Ohio's Senator Robert Taft, Vermont's Warren Austin, New Jersey's Warren Barbour, and Nebraska's George Norris, slowly came around to the president's position on repeal. "If we repeal it, we are helping England

and France," Senator Norris wrote to one of his constituents. "If we fail to repeal it, we will be helping Hitler and his allies. American neutrality is an impossibility." After six weeks of debate, on October 27 the Senate repealed the arms embargo by a vote of 63 to 39. The House followed a week later, and the president signed the Neutrality Act of 1939.³²

As events of history moved irrefragably past them, the isolationists lost their most eloquent voice. On January 16, 1940, Senator William Borah collapsed at his Washington apartment, lapsed into a coma, and died there three days later. The day before his collapse, Borah had led the opposition to the nomination of Roosevelt's new Secretary of the Navy, Charles Edison. His last words on the Senate floor, in this last losing battle, were in ringing defense of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. "When the time comes, as please God, I am sure it will," Borah had declared, "that the oppressed people of the world begin to fight their way back to civilization and away from the frightful 'isms' which engulf them in misery and slavery, they will look to this Bill of Rights as embodying their hopes and ideals." Less than a week after Borah uttered those words, his funeral was held in the Senate chamber. Every desk was occupied except for the one at which he sat for thirty-three years. The president, the cabinet, and the supreme court joined the Congress in mourning this towering figure. There was no eulogy. No one could match Borah's eloquence. After the service, the Senate chamber was opened and thousands filed past in silent tribute, before William Borah made his last trip back to Idaho.³³

Death spared Senator Borah the agony of witnessing his hopes dashed and his policies defeated. The spring of 1940 brought the end of the "phoney war" in Europe and the beginning of the terrible German blitzkrieg. On April 9, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. On May 10, Germany marched into the Netherlands and Belgium. By the end of May, Britain was evacuating its troops from the European continent at Dunkirk. By June 5, Germany had launched its invasion of France, and by June 16 German troops were in Paris. Defeated France signed its armistice, and the Vichy government was established under Marshal Petain. That summer the German Luftwaffe carried out intensive air raids on Britain.

President Roosevelt saw Great Britain as America's last line of defense in Europe. If Britain fell to Hitler's military might, then the security of the United States would be in grave jeopardy. With Britain standing alone, the president sought some way to provide aid without inflaming American public

opinion. In May 1940 Prime Minister Winston Churchill asked Roosevelt for the "loan of forty or fifty of your older destroyers" to reinforce the Royal Navy in the English Channel. Roosevelt, however, doubted he could get such a request passed in Congress. That June the Senate amended a Naval appropriations bill to prohibit the president from sending military material to belligerent nations unless his chief military officers certified it was not essential to American defense. With Congress in no mood to authorize a sale, Roosevelt decided to act on his own, under his authority as commander-in-chief. After consulting with his cabinet and congressional leaders, Roosevelt announced, on September 4, a destroyers-for-bases deal, by which the United States would transfer fifty overage destroyers to Britain in return for Britain's leases on naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Caribbean. Thirty years later, senators opposed to American involvement in the Vietnam war often cited the destroyers-for-bases as a usurpation of the Senate's treaty powers. Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his study of *The Imperial Presidency*, has defended Roosevelt's decision, and compared it to Lincoln's response to the firing on Fort Sumter. "To have tried to get destroyers to Britain by the treaty route," Schlesinger wrote, "was an alternative only for those who did not want Britain to get destroyers at all. Congress, by voting money to build the bases, soon gave the deal its implicit sanction."³⁴

The day after Roosevelt announced his destroyers-for-bases deal, isolationists announced the formation of the America First Committee, which grew out of an anti-war organization founded by students at Yale University. (Among these isolationist students, I find it interesting to note, were such later internationalists as former President Gerald Ford, R. Sargeant Shriver, Justice Potter Stewart, and Yale President Kingman Brewster—how we regret the folly of our youth!)³⁵ During the next fifteen months, the America First Committee, with such spokesmen as Senator Gerald Nye and Burton Wheeler, and aviator Charles Linbergh, became the chief force for stimulating public opinion against the president's aid-short-of-war program. Roosevelt, however, was quite equal to the fight, as he proved that November by winning an unprecedented third term to the presidency over an attractive Republican candidate, Wendell Willkie. Also opposed to the America Firsters was an internationalist organization, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, chaired by the journalist William Allen White. Thus, the lines were set for the last debate between isolationism and internationalism.

On December 29, 1940, President Roosevelt broadcast one of his fireside chats to the American people. With his reelection battle won, the president moved to create a coherent American policy toward the war in Europe and to line up public support behind that policy. "If Great Britain goes down," Roosevelt told his audience, "the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the high seas." The Americas would then "be living at the point of a gun." The Nation could not escape this danger by "crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads," he warned. The president's proposal, which he presented to Congress in his state of the union message the following week, was a Lend-Lease plan. Since the British had run out of funds to purchase war material from the United States, Lend-Lease would permit the president to sell, transfer, exchange, or lease military supplies to any nation whose defense he declared vital to the security of the United States.

Roosevelt's proposal launched what Professor Wayne Cole, author of a monumental study of this period, has called "the most spirited and important debates in the history of American foreign affairs." Gone from the debate were such figures as Key Pittman and William Borah, who had both died in 1940. Leading the president's fight in the Senate was the new chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Walter George and Senate Democratic leader Alban Barkley. Against them stood Senators Nye, Wheeler, Johnson, and other isolationists. The most prominent citizen to testify against Roosevelt's plan was Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, "Lucky Lindy," the popular aviator. A complete victory by either side in the European war would destroy Western civilization, Lindbergh told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lindbergh believed American Lend-Lease would only prolong the war and undermine efforts for a negotiated peace. The United States, he declared, could not "police the world."

Despite this spirited opposition, President Roosevelt had the votes. On March 8 the Senate approved H.R. 1776—and the choice of that historically significant number was quite deliberate—by a vote of 60 to 31. Senator George Norris, completing his odyssey from isolationist to internationalist, cast his vote for Lend-Lease. President Roosevelt was delighted. The great debate over Lend-Lease, he said, "was not limited to the halls of Congress. It was argued in every newspaper, on every wave length, over every cracker barrel in all the land; and it was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves."³⁶

Mr. President, there were so many significant events in the foreign policy

of the United States during 1940 that I can only briefly list them here. The Battle of the Atlantic was raging, with American vessels convoying British supply ships during the spring of 1940, and the sinking by a German submarine of the United States merchant ship *Robin Moor*. Germany invaded Egypt, Greece, and Yugoslavia in March and April, and then launched its inexplicable invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The war had made Russia, Britain, and eventually the United States, allies against the Germans. Also in June 1941, American scientists began secretly working on the development of the atomic bomb, which would later influence so fatefully the course of the war and of humanity. In July the Japanese occupied Indochina, causing President Roosevelt to freeze all Japanese credit in the United States, and ending trade between the two countries. Previously the President had embargoed all sales of scrap iron and steel to Japan, as an attempt to halt their military expansion throughout Asia.

In August President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Winston Churchill on board the British battleship *Prince of Wales* off the coast of Newfoundland. There they issued the "Atlantic Charter," renouncing territorial aggrandizement, supporting the right of people to choose their own form of government, maintaining their belief in freedom of the seas, and calling for a permanent peace organization. The nations which signed the Atlantic Charter made up the Allies who would fight the Axis and eventually form the United Nations. On August 12 the House of Representatives by a single vote approved the extension of the Army draft. In October German submarines torpedoed the United States destroyer *Kearny* and the destroyer *Reuben James*. In response the Senate on November 7, 1941 voted to repeal much of the Neutrality Act of 1939, thereby permitting the United States merchant vessels to be armed, and allowing them to carry goods into belligerent ports.

Meanwhile, the Japanese had demanded that the United States lift its freeze on Japanese credits and resume full trade between the two nations. American military officials, having broken the Japanese code, became convinced that war was imminent, and believed Japan would strike in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Isolationists viewed these developments with grave concern, certain that the president was somehow trying to pre-empt a war with Germany over Atlantic shipping or trying to get into the war "by the back door" with Japan. Roosevelt at the same time moved forward to protect what he saw as America's interests, defense, and security.³⁷

Sunday, December 7, 1941, the "great debate" over American foreign

policy came to an end. Senator Gerald P. Nye was addressing an America First rally at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh. Twenty-five hundred people were crowded into the hall to hear Nye, Senator David Reed, and other isolationists make their case. As Senator Nye was speaking, a note was laid on the podium before him, announcing that Japan had declared war on the United States. Flustered and uncertain whether to believe the report, Senator Nye kept on speaking. He completed his address and then told his audience of reports that Japanese planes had bombed the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. That was the last meeting of the America First Committee. When reporters questioned the senator afterwards he replied: "If Japan attacked, there is nothing left for Congress to do but declare war."³⁸ That night, Roosevelt summoned leaders of Congress and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the White House. Isolationists like California Senator Hiram Johnson walked silently past the crowd of reporters outside the executive offices. The next day, Congress voted a declaration of war against Japan—with only Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin voting no, as she had done against American entry into World War I. Days later Germany and Italy also declared war on the United States and we were fully immersed in the global conflict.

Pearl Harbor exploded Senator Borah's prediction that the United States was safe from military attack, and it discredited the isolationists' claim that the United States could stay neutral in a world at war. Defeat and death removed most of the isolationists from the Senate in the next few years. Senators Nye, Wheeler, La Follette, and Norris were not returned to office. Senators Vandenberg and Austin converted to internationalism. Senator Taft held to his principles and remained in the Senate, but his identification with isolationism denied him the election to the presidency he so avidly sought. As the United States entered a decade of war, both hot and cold, the debate over foreign policy was muted and a bi-partisan or non-partisan stance adopted. "Politics stops at the water's edge, became the watchword of the 1940s. Twenty years of political debate ended in a beautiful Hawaiian harbor, marred by the burning hulls of a fleet of American battleships.

We remember December 7, 1941 as a day of infamy. We mourn the hundreds of American servicemen who died at Pearl Harbor, and the thousands who gave their lives in the war that followed. We might also mourn the abrupt ending of the debate over American foreign policy. While history proved President Roosevelt and his

followers more correct than their isolationist opponents, it also buried for decades the warnings of the isolationists that the United States should not aspire to police the world, nor should it intervene at will in the affairs of other nations in this hemisphere or elsewhere. Subsequent events, which will be the subject of other addresses in my continuing series on the history of the United States Senate, demonstrated that some validity existed in the arguments on both sides of that great debate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notes to the speech "The Senate And The Great Debate" be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the notes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTES TO "THE SENATE AND THE GREAT DEBATE"

¹ Congressional Record, 69th Congress, 2nd sess., 1272.

² See especially Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1983), 1-14.

³ LeRoy Ashby, *The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana, Illinois: 1972), 106.

⁴ Robert James Maddox, *William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy* (Baton Rouge: 1969), 114-5; Congressional Record, 67th Congress, 2nd sess. (1922), 2587.

⁵ William E. Leuchtenburg, "William E. Borah," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1958), Supplement II, 49-51; See also Marian C. McKenna, *Borah* (Ann Arbor: 1961).

⁶ May Louise Perrine, ed., *Elephants and Donkeys: The Memoirs of Mary Borah* (Moscow, Idaho: 1976), 20-21.

⁷ Ashby, *The Spearless Leader*, 17-19.

⁸ John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933* (New York: 1960), 146; Karl Schriftgiesser, *This Was Normalcy: An Account of Party Politics During the Twelve Republican Years: 1920-1932* (New York: 1973/1948/), 232-234.

⁹ Maddox, *William E. Borah*, 150-182.

¹⁰ For the background of American relations in Nicaragua and Central America, see Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: 1983), and Robert L. Millett, "We've Done It All to Them Before in Central America," *Washington Post*, August 7, 1983.

¹¹ Claudius O. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (Seattle: 1967/1936/), 342-345.

¹² Ashby, *The Spearless Leader*, 208-212; McKenna, *Borah*, 229-230.

¹³ LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*, 64-69.

¹⁴ Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy*, 130-144, 245.

¹⁵ See Ronald L. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal* (Baltimore: 1981). On Pittman see Fred L. Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1963).

¹⁶ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 7.

¹⁷ See John Milton Cooper, Jr., *The Warrior and the Priest, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge: 1984).

¹⁸ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 5.

¹⁹ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: 1963), 197-202.

²⁰ Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 159.

²¹ William E. Borah, "American Foreign Policy in a Nationalistic World," *Foreign Affairs*, XII (January 1934).

²² John Edward Wiltz, "The Nye Munitions Committee, 1934," in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Roger Bruns, eds., *Congress Investigates, A Documented History, 1972-1974* (New York: 1975), IV, 2735-2767.

²³ Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: 1948), I, 404.

²⁴ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 163-181.

²⁵ Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 167-169.

²⁶ Richard Lowitt, *George W. Norris: The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933-1944* (Urbana: 1978), 248-252.

²⁷ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 244-248; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 226-227.

²⁸ Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 170; Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 253.

²⁹ McKenna, *Borah*, 354.

³⁰ Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 292; Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: 1976), 388-390, 430.

³¹ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 321.

³² Ibid., 324-330; Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 2nd sess. (1939), 1024-1025.

³³ McKenna, *Borah*, 369-375.

³⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (New York: 1974), 111-115.

³⁵ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 622-645.

³⁶ Ibid., 409-422.

³⁷ These events are summarized in Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 434-437.

³⁸ Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, 501-502.

PROGRAM

(The following statement occurred earlier and is printed at this point by unanimous consent.)

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, when the Senate completes its business today it will stand in adjournment until the hour of 4 p.m. on Monday next. After the recognition of the two leaders under the standing order, there will be one special order to be followed by a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business.

At the close of the time for the transaction of routine morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the unfinished business, which will be the Hoover Dam bill. A cloture motion has been filed against further debate on the motion to concur in the House amendments on that measure. The vote will occur, under the provisions of rule XXII, 1 hour after the Senate convenes after the establishment of a live quorum pursuant to the provisions of rule XXII.

Mr. President, it is also anticipated that during the course of the day the Senate will be asked to turn to the consideration of the antitrust R&D bill which I believe has been cleared now for action either by unanimous consent or under a very brief period for debate.

Mr. President, I do not anticipate Monday will be a very late day, but the schedule is uncertain, given the complexity of the situation. I urge Senators to consider that next week and the following week may be irregular in view of the necessity to crowd a great deal of legislative work into a very short period of time.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 4 P.M. ON MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned.

Thereupon, at 2:49 p.m., the Senate adjourned until Monday, July 30, 1984, at 4 p.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate July 27, 1984:

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following officers for appointment in the Regular Air Force under the provision of section 531, title 10, United States Code, provided that in no case shall any of the following officers be appointed in a grade higher than major.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

Allen, Robert W., [REDACTED]
 Andrijauskas, Victor J., [REDACTED]
 Ashley, Ronald K., [REDACTED]
 Bachman, David C., [REDACTED]
 Bagwell, Terry D., [REDACTED]
 Baker, Thomas R., [REDACTED]
 Barron, John S., [REDACTED]
 Bedard, Morris D., [REDACTED]
 Bender, Glenn A., [REDACTED]
 Benware, Gerald A., [REDACTED]
 Bohunko, Joseph F., [REDACTED]
 Bowman, Keith E., [REDACTED]
 Boyd, John M., [REDACTED]
 Boyer, Larry L., [REDACTED]
 Brady, William R., [REDACTED]
 Breen, David M., [REDACTED]
 Burbank, Dale A., [REDACTED]
 Burrows, Scott D., [REDACTED]
 Canlon, Michael D., [REDACTED]
 Castle, Paul S., [REDACTED]
 Cecchi, August M., [REDACTED]
 Coney, Terry G., [REDACTED]
 Copenhaver, Robert C., [REDACTED]
 Crane, Dwain E., [REDACTED]
 Cruse, Jeffery L., [REDACTED]
 Curny, David A., [REDACTED]
 Danielson, Thomas J., [REDACTED]
 Davenport, Anthony., [REDACTED]
 Davenport, James T., [REDACTED]
 Deese, Cynthia A., [REDACTED]
 Deese, James L., [REDACTED]
 Deloach, J.D., [REDACTED]
 Dickie, Andrew J., [REDACTED]
 Dix, John W., [REDACTED]
 Doherty, Steve D., [REDACTED]
 Donze, David E., [REDACTED]
 Downey, William R., [REDACTED]
 Dreaden, Larry E., [REDACTED]
 Dunn, Ottilie L., Jr., [REDACTED]
 Dunnegan, Harrison L., [REDACTED]
 Eichel, Robert F., [REDACTED]
 Ellerbe, John C., III, [REDACTED]
 Elliott, Ocie B. G., [REDACTED]
 Elwood, Joseph L., Jr., [REDACTED]
 Exner, Tony P., [REDACTED]
 Fender, Horace D., Jr., [REDACTED]
 Fisher, William J., [REDACTED]
 Freeman, David B., [REDACTED]
 Freeman, John P., [REDACTED]
 Fuller, Ricky A., [REDACTED]
 Funk, Henry C., Jr., [REDACTED]
 Furbush, Robert M., [REDACTED]
 Gardella, Paul J., [REDACTED]
 Gardner, Ronald C., [REDACTED]
 Gee, Frank, [REDACTED]
 Goodman, Robert J., [REDACTED]
 Goss, William G., [REDACTED]
 Gray, Rex L., [REDACTED]
 Gullmain, Bruce D., [REDACTED]
 Halpin, Senan, [REDACTED]
 Hambleton, Orris N., [REDACTED]
 Hancock, Allan F., Jr., [REDACTED]
 Harven, James L., [REDACTED]
 Hart, Harold D., [REDACTED]
 Heberling, Michael E., [REDACTED]
 Hemmens, William T., [REDACTED]
 Hertz, Rudolph K., [REDACTED]
 Hnizdor, Darrell N., [REDACTED]
 Holden, Jolly T., [REDACTED]
 Hoover, Don W., [REDACTED]
 Hopkins, Dennis W., [REDACTED]

Hopping, John P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Howard, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hudson, Robert B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hull, Philip W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jackson, Neulon D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jankowski, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jenkins, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johanson, Douglas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnson, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnson, Phillip J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Dave P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Grady R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jones, Roger E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kanko, Ralph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Keating, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kohn, Norman J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Krans, Raymond L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kuehn, Thomas J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kukuk, Steven D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Larson, Dale L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leal, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lewis, Sanford C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Livermore, Loren W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lovell, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Magness, Michael P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mangieri, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Markley, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marshall, Charles P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maryeski, Joseph P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCoy, Lorna G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miller, Dale C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Milner, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Milnes, Timothy F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Modlin, Gary T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monroe, Arthur J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monroe, Franklin B., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Morris, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mullenax, John O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Muller, Douglas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Musick, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Napolitano, Clifford E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nation, Dolf C., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Newsom, Gary K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nipper, Johnny B., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Overmyer, Devon L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parker, Melvin J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parnell, Dale P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parsell, William F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pattison Bruce R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Paucello, Frank, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peltier, Joseph E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pershing, Marvin E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Plucker, Wayne G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poff, David P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Popovich, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Preisser, Alan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Proctor, Max L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prynn, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rasmussen, Terry R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Richardson, Edwin S., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Riley, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Risch, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roberts, David W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rothaman, Neill F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rowe, Richard D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Russell, Walter G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Saylor, Wax W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schaefer, Verne S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schlafli, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schwandt, Roland L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sisk, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Donald F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, McBurnett J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spray, Gordon W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Staley, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stegman, Patrick G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stothart, William K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stover, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx

Strode, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strong, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sulham, Clifford B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Raymond Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thurman, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Uecker, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Velino, John A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Verhaeghe, Rick L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Voigt, Jerome W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walker, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Warren, Larry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wesson, Bruce E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Westfall, Ronald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wheeler Peyton, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whitaker, Harry W., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Winchester, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Worley, Tiron D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yanagi, Cary I., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zazula, Frank A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Zlotkowski, Mark E., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following officers for appointment in the Regular Air Force under the provisions of section 531, title 10, United States Code, with a view to designation under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code, to perform the duties indicated, provided that in no case shall any of the following officers be appointed in a grade higher than major.

CHAPLAINS

Anthony, Theodore T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Blair, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Golding, Walter E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Goodman, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hess, Stephen D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Law, Charles F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Naslund, Sebastian C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Orengo, Gloria, J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Osborne, Connell, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roth, Gary E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schroeder, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Shelby B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wuerfel, Jon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ziegler, Austin H., xxx-xx-xxxx

JUDGE ADVOCATES

Bailor, Donald E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brown, Dale M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daugherty, Kevin L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davis, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Esposito, Francis H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gutzman, Barry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jackson, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kaszczuk, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Charles G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Legris, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nivens, Norman F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oloughlin, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oreilly, Kathleen G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phetteplace, Noel J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powers, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schneiderman, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schwartz, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shearer, Harry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smitherman, Edward T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stalls, Felix J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vandebroek, Patricia L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weeks, Rebecca S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilson, Cleve A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx

NURSE CORPS

Ashbaugh, Ann M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Baker, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Barnoski, Deborah M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bartels, Betsy, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Biehl, Carla, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boone, Patricia A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bostek, Chester C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burke, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cash, Kathy K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cobbs, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx

Conley, Lynda M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cowan, Wayne E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daniels, Lue D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daquialloyd, Edith M.E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Daugherty, Mary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Davenport, Priscilla V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dicicco, Deborah L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Duke, Philip B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fagan, Kathryn M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Feeley, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gass, Susan M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gilmore, Diane E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Goodwin, Rebecca A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Goss, Virginia F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Grijalva, Ruben A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Guendel, Diane R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hall, Susan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Harper, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hayes, Clyde W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hibdon, Thomas D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hite, Linda M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Humphrey, Norma J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jacobson, Jerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Keith, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kenyon, Cynthia A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klein, Terrence L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ludwig, Marie G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCurry, Rita L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miller, Judy C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mills, Harley A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monticello, Joseph A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moyer, Marie A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Myers, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nation, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nygaard, Lowell M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patterson, Sharon D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pound, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pulliam, Peggy J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stallard, Margaret M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Staton, Marilynne M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stewart, Patricia E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Strickland, Margaret E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wagman, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wethington, Terri S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Gary R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Willis, Lawrence A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Windmueller, Pamela A., xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

Acker, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Beste, Donald E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burgess, Alan J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Carver, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Coleman, Russell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gressel, Stephen W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Heil, Rivald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kemp, Donald L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kirstein, Wade P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lee, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitchell, Gerry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patterson, Neil G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Poetschke, Edward G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Standifer, Tommie R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tipton, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Virgilio, Benjamin W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wathen, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx

BIOMEDICAL SCIENCES CORPS

Bird, Virginia L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bourland, Bobby L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cassidy, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cordts, Stuart T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Croshaw, George V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dubroff, Michael L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Edwards, Sherrell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Freeman, Stephen M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jolliff, Reade B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Keller, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mareth, Martha M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitchell, Melinda A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Novak, Suellyn W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pearman, Paul L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quirk, John N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Skier, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swartz, Lloyd M., xxx-xx-xxxx

Trawick, Anthony C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Witt, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for permanent promotion in the U.S. Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of section 624, title 10, United States Code, as amended, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE
to be major

Abati, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Abbit, James H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Abbott, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aboe, Errol S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Abrams, Lynn J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Achramowicz, Stephen W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adair, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, Harold R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adams, James R. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adang, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Addison, Johnny O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aderhold, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adler, Edward H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adocchio, Vito A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Adriance, Bruce E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ahne, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ahrens, Glenn D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Akerlind, Nils Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Akers, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Akins, Billy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alanis, Arnulfo S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Albert, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Albert, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aldrich, Gary L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aldrich, Raymon E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexaitis, Jon H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Kelly D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alexander, Ralph Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Andrew R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Brian R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Julian D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Richard K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allen, Tim M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allie, Joseph S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allwood, Arthur A. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Almeida, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Altman, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alvarez, Daniel A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Alvarez, Hector R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Allwell, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Amend, Joseph H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Amidon, Phillip B., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ammon, Stephen K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anawalt, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andersen, Wayne A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Albert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Emmet D. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Lamarr L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Larry O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Michael E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Michele, xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Robert O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Ronald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Steven J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, Ward M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anderson, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
Andren, George W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Andrijauskas, Victor J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Anen, Richard J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Angell, Stewart K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Angus, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Antal, Gary S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Antinora, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
Apel, Larry P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aponte, Ricardo, xxx-xx-xxxx

Apuzzo, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Archuleta, James T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Archuleta, Samuel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Argenti, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armentrout, Drew A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armie, Steven E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armistead, Gary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arms, Anita M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Alan D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Armstrong, Frank I., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Arnett, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Don G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnold, Vincent A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arnott, Neil J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arpin, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arrieta, Natividad Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arrington, Steven A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arseneau, Gary J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Artman, David H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Arzt, Frederick K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ashley, Ronald K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ashman, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aten, William G., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Attenborough, Keith R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Atwell, Keith A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Augenstein, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Auletta, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Austin, Judith P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Austin, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Avalos, Mario T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aven, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Avila, Edward R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Avvento, Gennaro J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Aydelotte, Roy R., L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ayers, Francis H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Babb, William M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Babson, June I. R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bachman, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Backhus, John K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Badger, Arthur D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bagley, Jay W., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Bailey, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bailey, Raymond A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bain, Thomas L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Allen W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Deborah A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Keith C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Owen B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baker, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balash, Lawrence, xxx-xx-xxxx
Baldwin, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baldwin, Margaret K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baldwin, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ball, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballard, Daniel P., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballard, Mark R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Ballengee, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Balyeat, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bangert, Berthold T. Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barbee, Gary M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barber, Brian R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barber, William D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barca, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barchie, Steven L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barker, William H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnes, Dieter, xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnes, Jack R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnes, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnes, Roger W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barnett, Donna G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barr, George E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Barr, Jay R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barron, John I., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
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Bartels, Klaus B., xxx-xx-xxxx

Barthold, Bruce R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, Harold H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Barton, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bartz, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bash, Darrell D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bass, Cary A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Batt, Miles A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Batten, Foster L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baucom, Terry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baughman, Terry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baum, Christopher, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bauries, Brian W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Baxter, Willie, xxx-xx-xxxx
Beal, Byron E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beally, Timothy N., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beam, Larry C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bean, Donald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bean, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beard, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beard, Lee R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beard, Nelson L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bearden, David K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beauchamp, Dwight E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beauchamp, Wallace A., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Beauchemin, Raymond J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Becker, Henry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Becker, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beckett, Mason H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beckwith, Douglas C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bedard, Morris D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beem, Ronald D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Behan, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Behr, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beightol, Willis E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beisel, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Belanger, Allen D., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bell, Dana H., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bell, Frederick J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Belyeu, Troy E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bender, Glenn A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bendick, Gordon L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benfield, Gerald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Arthur L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Barry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Bruce G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Charles I., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
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Bennett, Judith S., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bennett, Timothy W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benoit, Mark E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benson, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bentley, George D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bentley, Roy M., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benton, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Benware, Gerald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bereuter, Tim E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berger, Dale K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bernards, Herman J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berry, George T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Berthold, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bertoglio, James V., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bettenhausen, Gerald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Betts, Denver A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Beyer, Gregory T., xxx-xx-xxxx
Biehl, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bielanski, Gordon, xxx-xx-xxxx
Bielick, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bigos, Adam W., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bina, Robert E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bird, Christopher O., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bird, Steven K., xxx-xx-xxxx
Birdsall, Ian A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bishop, John A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bishop, Stephen E., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bivona, Anthony C., xxx-xx-xxxx
Bjoring, Franklin O., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Bjurstrom, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
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Blackwell, Jimmie A., xxx-xx-xxxx
Blaine, Casey L., xxx-xx-xxxx
Blanchette, Jeffrey G., xxx-xx-xxxx
Blazek, Thomas J., xxx-xx-xxxx
Blecher, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx

Blevins, Harrol D., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Bly, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Boal, Robert H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boehm, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boggs, Paul R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bognar, Vance J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bohon, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bohon, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bohunko, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bolton, Jose, xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Bond, Kyle C., xxx-xx-xxxx
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 Bondzeleske, Edward A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bonnett, Bruce J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bonngard, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boorn, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boot, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Booth, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Booth, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bortz, James R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bosler, Mark E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bostelman, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bostick, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boudreaux, John L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bourne, George L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowen, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowiby, Randall B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bowman, Keith E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Box, Arthur C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boy, Edmund G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyce, Joseph W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyd, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyer, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Boyle, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradbury, Frank C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradham, Gary C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bradley, Kenneth A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, Glen L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, William A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brady, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bragg, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brammiller, Charles L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandau, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandeberry, Frank A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brandt, Ronald V., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bratina, Tuires A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bratton, Joseph K., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Braud, Stuart P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Braud, Thomas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breckenridge, Ronald R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breen, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breerwood, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Breeze, Richard C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brehob, Paulette L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brejwo, Joseph S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brennan, Joseph A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brewen, Cheney C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Bright, Victor A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Brigman, Stephen C., xxx-xx-xxxx
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IN THE ARMY

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 Mayer, Stephen N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McIntire, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McKenney, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McKissick, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McMillan, Elouise, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meador, Martin R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miller, Jeffrey G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Misiak, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Monnett, Michael G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Murley, Myron H., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nichols, Steven H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Noone, John B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Northrop, Joseph P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nowak, Henry J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oviatt, Terry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patrick, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pennington, Patrick, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Perritt, Arthur S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Peterman, Randal S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phelps, Williams G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Phillips, William N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pierce, Walter E., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pilz, Ronald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pittenger, Julia M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prater, Benjamin H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Prater, Timothy D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quinn, Marvin E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rambis, Mark E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Redliner, Mark J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reynolds, Kevin P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Richards, Jeffrey T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Robson, Gordon W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rose, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rotchford, Frederic, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sain, Todd G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Salls, Wayne L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Samanka, Victor E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sarvary, Katherine, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shull, Gerald C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shea, Claire M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sherfey, Lloyd W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simpson, Kevin, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Slavinski, Arthur J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Barrie S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Phillip M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Spencer, Alvin M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stapleton, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sutton, Earl, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swansburg, Michael, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Taylor, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx

Thyng, Alan R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thyner, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Valentine, Franco L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walker, Gregory D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wall, Allan W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Waters, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Weintraub, Jason S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wemhoff, Daniel E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Whitner, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilkerson, Timothy, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Willett, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilson, Dale E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wood, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wright, James D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yanichko, Joyce A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yanichko, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yaross, Daniel B., xxx-xx-xxxx

To be first lieutenant

Brooks, Thomas S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Burns, Patrick W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Camarella, Dean A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Campbell, Michael O., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Cano, Amador L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Chipp, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Crosby, Roy C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dettling, Jean M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dolieslager, Montgo, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ebert, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fantasky, Gerald S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fisher, Thomas G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Florek, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flournoy, John J., II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Flowers, Steven A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fomeran, Tony L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Frum, Robert D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Griffin, John S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Grimsley, William F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Groefsema, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Handy, Richard C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Harris, Cynthia, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hemphill, Deborah, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hobernicht, Richard, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hoffman, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jackson, Bruce P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Jackson, Ernest F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Johnson, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Klekot, Matthew P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Knapp, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kopish, Wendell L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leblanc, Veronique, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Leonardi, John L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lobban, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lujan, Anthony E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 MacNeil, James G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maage, Donald W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Marrs, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McMannes, Lester T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Milburn, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Miller, Paul E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitcham, Zachery S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moody, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moore, Timothy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nolen, J.R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oringderff, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Sullivan, Terrence, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parquette, William, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Patton, Stuart B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pierson, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Powell, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Preddy, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pujals, Shirley, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Robinson, William C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roome, Robert H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ruff, George R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Scott, Jerry D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shifflett, Michael, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sienkiewicz, Francis, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Craig R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Kenneth D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Tyrone A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stein, Kurt J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stone, Ralph R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sutton, Brian, xxx-xx-xxxx

Swieczkowski, Leann, [REDACTED]
 Teeple, David W., [REDACTED]
 Thompson, Billy L., [REDACTED]
 Tunmer, Frederick L., [REDACTED]
 Via, Dennis L., [REDACTED]
 Wages, Marvin D., [REDACTED]
 Weidner, Branda M., [REDACTED]
 Western, John W., [REDACTED]
 White, Charles, [REDACTED]
 Williams David E., [REDACTED]
 Zankl, Daniel H., [REDACTED]

To be second lieutenant

Bharuchareid, Kurush F., [REDACTED]
 Blodgett, Donald J., [REDACTED]
 Britt, Kenneth W., [REDACTED]
 Cook, Nicky A., [REDACTED]
 Davis, Gary L., [REDACTED]
 Dirkse, James W., [REDACTED]
 Garcia, Mario Jr., [REDACTED]
 Gesner, Denise R., [REDACTED]
 Girven, Richard S., [REDACTED]
 Gyurisko, Brice A., [REDACTED]
 Harvey, Kenneth N., [REDACTED]
 Hilderbrandt, Patricia A., [REDACTED]
 Holloway, Douglas G., [REDACTED]
 Horlander, Thomas A., [REDACTED]
 Kapalko, David E., [REDACTED]
 Kozack, Edward, [REDACTED]
 Leonard, Robert E., [REDACTED]
 McKenney, John, [REDACTED]
 McMahon, Martin E., [REDACTED]
 Pattillo, Stephen P., [REDACTED]
 Perry, Myer B., [REDACTED]
 Scantlan, Donald L., [REDACTED]
 Schoening, Darel D., [REDACTED]
 Smith, Thomas T., [REDACTED]
 Spear, Eric N., [REDACTED]
 Swengros, Richard W., [REDACTED]
 Timmes, Dixie L., [REDACTED]
 Tucker, Stanley K., [REDACTED]
 Turnbull, David W., [REDACTED]
 White, Michael S., [REDACTED]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Anthony Cecil Eden Quainton, of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Kuwait.

Robert E. Barbour, of Tennessee, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the

United States of America to the Republic of Suriname.

Brandon Hambright Grove, Jr., of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Zaire.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Helen J. Valerio, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for a term expiring May 8, 1987, reappointment.

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

William Lee Hanley, Jr., of Connecticut, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1987, vice Karl Eller, resigned.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Clifford J. Murino, of Colorado, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for a term expiring May 10, 1990, vice Edwin Ernest Salpeter term expired.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Helen M. Eversberg, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the western district of Texas for the term of 4 years vice Edward C. Prado, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 27, 1984:

THE JUDICIARY

Walter T. Cox III, of South Carolina, to be a judge of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals for a term of 15 years.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officer for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

Lt Gen. George M. Browning, Jr., [REDACTED] U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by

the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Casper T. Spangrud, [REDACTED] U.S. Air Force.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officer for appointment to the grade of general on the retired list pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

Gen. Wilbur L. Creech, [REDACTED] U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be reassigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

To be general

Gen. Jerome F. O'Malley, [REDACTED] U.S. Air Force.

IN THE NAVY

The following-named officer, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148(b), to be assigned as Judge Advocate General of the Navy:

Rear Adm. Thomas E. Flynn, [REDACTED] Judge Advocate General's Corps, U.S. Navy.

IN THE AIR FORCE

Air Force nominations beginning David E. Ternes, and ending Douglas J. Murray, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 28, 1984.

Air Force nominations beginning Charles E. Cook, and ending Robert N. Rezoski, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 29, 1984.

IN THE ARMY

Army nominations beginning John W. Gaines, and ending Michael S. Gilmer, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 29, 1984.

IN THE NAVY

Navy nominations beginning Robert K. Yoho, and ending Jay R. Shapiro, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on June 29, 1984.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Friday, July 27, 1984

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. WRIGHT].

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
July 26, 1984.

I hereby designate the Honorable JIM WRIGHT to act as Speaker pro tempore on Friday, July 27, 1984.

THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr.,
Speaker of the
House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but abides forever.—Psalm 125:1.

We thank You, O God, for those values that give meaning to our lives. With all the pressures that seek people's attention and the tensions and conflicts of the day, help us to see more clearly the spiritual values that are our heritage and guide. May we not lose the vision of the goals of righteousness and honor, of justice and understanding, of peace and good will, that are a part of the divine image within us.

In Your name, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Saunders, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On June 22, 1984:

H.R. 5517. An act to amend title 31, United States Code, to provide for certain additional experts and consultants for the General Accounting Office, to provide for certain additional positions within the Gen-

eral Accounting Office Senior Executive Service, and for other purposes.

On June 25, 1984:

H.R. 1723. An act to authorize appropriations through fiscal year 1986 for the Great Dismal Swamp, Minnesota Valley, and San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuges.

On June 26, 1984:

H.R. 1149. An act to designate certain national forest system and other lands in the State of Oregon for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for other purposes.

On June 29, 1984:

H.R. 3131. An act for the relief of Marina Kunyavsky;

H.R. 3221. An act for the relief of Harvey E. Ward; and

H.R. 4201. An act to provide for the rescheduling of methaqualone into schedule I of the Controlled Substances Act, and for other purposes.

On July 2, 1984:

H.J. Res. 492 Joint resolution making an urgent supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, for the Department of Agriculture.

On July 3, 1984:

H.R. 5565. An act to direct the Architect of the Capitol and the District of Columbia to enter into an agreement for the conveyance of certain real property, to direct the Secretary of the Interior to permit the District of Columbia and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority to construct, maintain, and operate certain transportation improvements on Federal property, and to direct the Architect of the Capitol to provide the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority access to certain real property.

On July 6, 1984:

H.R. 5953. An act to increase the statutory limit on the public debt.

On July 9, 1984:

H.R. 4921. An act to provide for the selection of additional lands for inclusion within the Bon Secour National Wildlife Refuge, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 544. Joint resolution to designate the week beginning September 2, 1984, as "National School-Age Child Care Awareness Week";

H.J. Res. 555. Joint resolution to designate July 20, 1984, as "Space Exploration Day";

H.J. Res. 566. Joint resolution to designate the week beginning on October 7, 1984, as "National Neighborhood Housing Services Week"; and

H.J. Res. 604. Joint resolution to designate July 9, 1984, as "African Refugees Relief Day."

On July 10, 1984:

H.R. 5174. An act to amend title 28 of the United States Code, regarding jurisdiction of bankruptcy proceedings, to establish new Federal Judicial positions, to amend title 11 of the United States Code, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 5404. An act allowing William R. Gianelli to continue to serve as a member of the Board of the Panama Canal Commission after his retirement as an officer of the Department of Defense.

On July 11, 1984:

H.R. 5950. An act to increase the Federal contribution for the Quadrennial Political Party Presidential National Nominating Conventions; and

H.J. Res. 567. Joint resolution to designate 1984 as the "Year of the St. Lawrence Seaway" and June 27, 1984, as "St. Lawrence Seaway Day."

On July 13, 1984:

H.R. 3825. An act to establish a boundary for the Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3922. An act to establish a 1-year limitation on the filing of claims for unpaid accounts formerly maintained in the Postal Savings System;

H.R. 3927. An act for the relief of Kenneth L. Perrin; and

H.R. 4308. An act granting the consent of the Congress to an interstate compact for the preparation of a feasibility study for the development of a system of high-speed intercity rail passenger service.

On July 16, 1984:

H.R. 3075. An act to amend the Small Business Act to establish a small business computer security and education program, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5154. An act to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, space flight, control and data communications, construction of facilities, and research and program management, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 5653. An act making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985, and for other purposes.

On July 17, 1984:

H.R. 4616. An act to amend the Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1982 to require States to use at least 8 per centum of their highway safety apportionments for developing and implementing comprehensive programs concerning the use of child restraint systems in motor vehicles, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4997. An act to authorize appropriations to carry out the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972, for fiscal years 1985 through 1988, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5155. An act to establish a system to promote the use of land remote-sensing satellite data, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5740. An act entitled, the "Barrow Gas Field Transfer Act of 1984";

H.R. 5753. An act making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 548. Joint resolution authorizing the President's Commission on Organized Crime to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of information, and for other purposes.

On July 18, 1984:

H.R. 3169. An act to amend the Energy Policy and Conservation Act to facilitate commerce by the domestic renewable energy industry and related service industries;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide the tax reform, and for deficit reduction; and

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

H.R. 5713. An act making appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and for sundry independent agencies, boards, commissions, corporations, and offices for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985, and for other purposes.

On July 23, 1984:

H.R. 29. An act to recognize the organization known as the Polish Legion of American Veterans, U.S.A.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2303) "An act to revise and extend the Alcohol and Drug Abuse and Mental Health Services block grant," agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HATCH, Mrs. HAWKINS, Mr. QUAYLE, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MATSUNAGA, and Mr. RIEGLE to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 122, 98th Congress, the Vice President appoints Mr. BAKER, Mr. MATHIAS, and Mr. FORD as members, on the part of the Senate, of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

(Mr. PICKLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, there has been little or no public analysis of President Reagan's proposal that Congress change the law to allow for a Social Security cost-of-living adjustment next year if the CPI is below 3 percent.

The White House realized that it is very likely that a COLA will not be triggered this year and that announcement will come approximately 1 week before the November election. And if that COLA is not triggered under current law, Mr. Reagan is afraid that he would get the blame for it.

In order to head off that possibility, Mr. Reagan has asked Congress to bale him out of what might be a sticky political situation by changing the current law. He took this action over 60 days in advance of the triggering date. It was a blatant political move.

Yet, I guess it is a smooth political move on his part. Regardless of whether you support or oppose granting the cost-of-living increase, I think that Congress should not rush to immediately jump on the President's COLA bandwagon. Judging by the Senators actions last night, it looks like the stampede has started.

But, good election year politics is not always responsible public policy.

I am well aware of the politics of this matter and I know that it is likely that this proposal will be adopted. But in doing so we should be fully aware of what we are doing. Eliminating the trigger as done by the Senate last night will result in a tax increase next year by raising the FICA base. It will result in changes in a number of other formulas including an increase in Medicare part B premiums for the elderly.

This is not a simple matter. It deserves some analysis and we should be honest with the American people about what we are doing and why we are doing it. I will have more to say on this matter later.

THE BKK LANDFILL

(Mr. TORRES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus has been invited to testify before an emergency congressional hearing and tell us the truth about the BKK landfill. The BKK landfill is located in a densely populated city in my district.

Mr. Ruckelshaus will be testifying before an energy subcommittee that I sit on. I will be asking the Administrator why he has refused to close the BKK landfill even though 21 families have been evacuated from their homes due to cancer causing vinyl chloride levels as high as 99 times the acceptable standards.

Yesterday a letter was delivered to the Administrator signed by 21 of my southern California colleagues asking that the BKK be closed immediately.

Mr. Speaker, this is not an economic issue. Mr. Speaker, this is not a political issue. Mr. Speaker, this is a health issue.

Before more families are evacuated or a far more terrible tragedy occurs, I believe that Mr. Ruckelshaus should enforce the law and immediately close the BKK landfill.

ADMINISTRATION POLICY: BAIL OUT FAILING BANK BUT SELL PROFITABLE RAILROAD

(Mr. FLORIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, the Reagan administration announced yesterday its bailout of the Continental Illinois Bank, one of the Nation's largest. This bailout could cost the taxpayers several billion dollars.

Indeed, the bailout represents a flip-flop by administration officials. Earlier, Treasury Secretary Regan had criticized the effort. But in the final analysis, the administration showed where its true loyalty was—to big business rather than the taxpayers.

At the same time that the administration was rushing to bail out this failing bank, it was proceeding quickly in its attempts to sell Conrail, which is projected to earn \$500 million this year. Thus, the administration's policy becomes clear—bail out failing companies but quickly sell profitable companies. Any competent businessman would tell you that approach is wrong. Clearly, the administration does not know how to run a business. The real losers in this game are the taxpayers.

□ 1010

WHERE DID WE LOSE JOBS IN THIS COUNTRY?

(Mr. CAMPBELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday it came to my attention through the Freedom of Information Act that in 1980 the Carter-Mondale administration gave a secret letter to the People's Republic of China, guaranteeing them that they would essentially hold them harmless for any additional textile imports that came into this country outside of the bilateral agreements, and essentially giving them privileges that were not negotiated under the agreements that they had negotiated in their bilateral negotiations.

This resulted in a doubling of textile imports from the People's Republic of China, and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of American jobs. I have taken a special order today; I will read this letter into the Record, and I will have a lot more to say about it this afternoon. The public should know where we lost some of the jobs in this country.

BUREAUCRATIC INSENSITIVITY

(Mr. PARRIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, last evening when I and thousands of other residents tried to return to northern Virginia, we found that the traffic on the bridges over the Potomac River was once more gridlocked. I submit to you this morning, Mr. Speaker, that in another incredible example of bureaucratic insensitivity, and a failure to properly coordinate among Government units, we find a situation that dramatically affects the lives of real people in the real world. That situation is that the two major river-crossing bridges in the Washington metropolitan area serving northern Virginia are severely restricted to vehicle traffic at the same time which is creating enormous problems for commuters.

The 14th Street Bridge administered and maintained by the District of Columbia will have substantially reduced capacity for 4½ months because of needed resurfacing and safety improvements. The Woodrow Wilson Bridge administered by the State of Maryland is receiving minor repairs of the resurfacing that was done last year. But in a totally insensitive way, both of them have been scheduled all at the same time, and travel back and forth across the Potomac River is seriously impeded.

I have talked to and written the Governor of Maryland suggesting that he exercise his prerogative to defer the minor repairs on the Woodrow Wilson Bridge until we get the 14th Street Bridge repairs completed and thereby restore some kind of semblance of reason to the movement of traffic in the Nation's Capital. To do less for our frustrated and beleaguered citizens is unthinkable.

I fully realize that the State of Maryland did not set out deliberately to thwart efforts of commuters to travel to and from work.

But the result is just the same as if it did. And the entire situation could have been avoided, and still can be corrected, if Maryland officials exercise a little commonsense.

I am told that the repairs to the Wilson Bridge are minor, and that delaying them will not pose any safety hazard.

Let us hope that Maryland agrees to call off its repair crews until the 14th Street Bridge redecking is completed this fall.

STAND UP FOR AMERICAN CONSUMERS

(Mr. TAUKE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TAUKE. Mr. Speaker, today I call to the attention of my colleagues a recent action by the Canadian Government regarding the price of Canadian natural gas which is exported to the United States. During our July recess, our neighbor to the north relaxed its rigid uniform border price for natural gas requiring that all gas sold outside its borders be sold at the uniform price of \$4.40. Under this new policy, this gas should fall to approximately \$3.10 per mcf.

Beginning November 1, 1984, American consumers will be permitted to negotiate a competitive price from Canadian natural gas producers within certain restrictions. Specifically, the negotiated price must still be above a certain floor amount, which will be tied to the wholesale price of gas in Toronto, and the producers of natural gas will have to satisfy Canada's National Energy Board that the negotiated price is at least equal to the price of

alternative fuels in the United States and that the negotiated price will "enhance the economic return to Canada compared with the current system." However, the Canadian Government will allow spot sales of gas at prices below the floor price.

I commend the Canadian Government for this change in its pricing policy. It is a dramatic step, and it should result in lower gas prices for American consumers. Though Canada only supplies about 4 percent of the U.S. demand for gas, this new policy should force U.S. companies into lowering their prices to stay competitive.

However, several more steps are needed to reduce the unjustifiably high price of natural gas which consumers are paying today. We need to move the natural gas legislation out of the Rules Committee and on to the floor for debate. I repeat my challenge, Mr. Speaker, for you to stand up against special interest groups and to stand up for American consumers by permitting the House to debate this legislation.

GET FDIC OUT OF THE BANKING BUSINESS

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, the announcement yesterday by the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation that his Agency would take an 80-percent equity interest in Continental Illinois Corp., in exchange for \$4.5 billion in bad loans is a blatant abuse of that Agency's charter and a slap in the face of this Congress. The FDIC is supposed to insure depositors of banks up to \$100,000—it has no statutory authority to preserve and protect bank holding companies.

There was some loose talk yesterday—scare words—by Chairman Isaac about 2,100 other banks that would fail if Continental Bank had to close. That's a lot of nonsense. Of course they won't give us any specific facts about this supposed problem. It looks like the profits of the entire banking industry are being protected by this scheme.

The FDIC has carried its policy of "purchases and assumptions" too far. Since it couldn't find a merger partner for Continental, it has entered the banking business itself with the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago's money.

What happened yesterday is that \$3.5 billion, which was lent to Continental Illinois Bank by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago has been used to finance the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's takeover of the bank holding company. The scheme is complex enough—with two classes of preferred stock, stock options for the present shareholders, a

dummy corporation to hold all the outstanding common shares of Continental—to bedazzle the likes of Fisk and Gould, the high-rolling swindlers of the 1860's.

This Congress should address this issue immediately. An amendment must be included in any banking legislation we pass to require the FDIC to pay off all depositors of Continental Bank up to \$100,000—and not a penny more. We must insist that the FDIC obey the letter and spirit of the laws Congress writes. The purpose of deposit insurance is to protect bank customers, not bank holding companies.

The FDIC claims taxpayers' money was not used. That's a distinction without a difference, because the Federal Reserve's printing press was used instead. The Federal Deposit Insurance Fund is financed by mandatory fees collected from banks. A mandatory fee is no different from a tax on the industry. Sure, the billion dollars below book value the FDIC is paying for the bad loans, and the shares of preferred stock, might yield a speculative profit for the Fund in a few years—but by what right does the Agency gamble and speculate with its trust fund?

How can this Congress seriously consider the banking legislation reported less than 1 month ago by my committee, changing statutory regulations on bank holding companies, when the FDIC announces to the world that there are no substantive differences between chartered banks and their holding companies. The whole idea of deregulating the financial services industry becomes a joke. The FDIC has just exploited the biggest loophole in banking law ever conceived.

NO PERSONAL ATTACKS FROM REPUBLICAN PARTY

(Mrs. MARTIN of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MARTIN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this morning in the Washington Post, one of the members of the Democratic ticket, and our colleague, GERALDINE FERRARO, suggest that the campaign would be dirty and personal from the Republican point of view. That inaccuracy cannot be allowed to stand. There are questions, legitimate questions being asked by the press. There are no and will be no personal attacks by the Republican Party.

In a platform that 30 times called the current President of the United States reckless, putting a nation on the brink of war. A Democratic leadership that has been more partisan and more personal in its criticism than ever before, it seems unusual, unique and all together without fact to blame

the other side for what has already occurred from the majority.

We will discuss the issues because that is what the American people deserve and want.

THOMAS JEFFERSON WOULD BE PROUD

(Mr. WALKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post this morning there is an article explaining what we did yesterday on the school prayer issue. That article contains this rather incredible statement, and I quote:

Most lawmakers said the approved amendment codifies the existing situation which allows students silently to exercise their right to freedom of speech.

Thomas Jefferson would certainly be proud of us.

HUNGER RELIEF ACT OF 1984

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 517 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 5151.

□ 1018

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 5151) to alleviate hunger in the United States by strengthening Federal nutrition programs, with Mr. TORRES in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the first reading of the bill is dispensed with.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA].

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984.

In response to the short title of the bill, it has been asked, "Does hunger really exist in the United States today?" I wish the answer were different, but it is very clearly "Yes." While an improving economy has resulted in a reduced level of unemployment, there are many areas of the country and many groups of our citizens that have not benefited from this improvement.

The Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition of our committee, under the

outstanding leadership of its chairman, LEON PANETTA, and BILL EMERSON, the ranking minority member, has held hearings over the length and breadth of this land. The hearings disclosed a tremendous need for food assistance on the part of those segments of our people whom economic recovery has simply passed by.

On-site visits, and testimony by representatives of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, State and local governments, operators of soup kitchens and food pantries, and others dramatically portrayed the increased demand for emergency food assistance in many parts of the country. The President's Task Force on Food Assistance also examined this problem. Their findings are perhaps best illustrated by their lengthy list of recommendations for addressing the situation they found to exist. Many of those recommendations are implemented in H.R. 5151.

Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Agriculture has worked diligently on this legislation. The bill, as reported, is quite different from H.R. 5151 as introduced. Provisions relating to the child nutrition and elderly feeding programs that fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Education and Labor have been deleted. And many other modifications were made. The result is a moderate but meaningful bill—one that goes far toward ensuring that the needy among us have access to a decent diet.

The bill enjoys remarkably broad bipartisan support among members of the Agriculture Committee. There is a significant difference of opinion among our members as to only two provisions. There is, therefore, broad agreement among committee members as to steps that should be taken to ensure that the Food Stamp Program continues to be an effective and compassionate nationwide response to the food needs of the less fortunate in this land of plenty.

I will summarize the recommendations of the President's Task Force to which the bill responds. The Task Force recommended that benefits under the program be restored to a level that represents the full cost of the so-called Thrifty Food Plan, a low-cost dietary plan developed by the Department of Agriculture. Under current law, through fiscal year 1985, program benefits represent only 99 percent of the cost of the plan. The bill would, for fiscal year 1985, put into place the Task Force recommendation. For fiscal year 1986, it would increase the benefits to represent 101 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan. For subsequent years, it would return the benefit level to 100 percent of the cost of the plan. But it would recommend a study of the basis for the program benefits, as now determined, to be completed so that the Congress may have its findings in hand for con-

sideration in reauthorizing the program in 1985.

The President's Task Force also recommended that households, all of whose members receive assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children or the Supplemental Security Income Programs, be made categorically eligible for food stamps. The bill accomplishes this objective.

The Task Force further urged an increase in work incentives for those who participate in food assistance programs. H.R. 5151 responds to this recommendation. It increases from 18 percent to 20 percent the amount of a household's earned income that is deducted in calculating the household's net income for program purposes. Thus, the concept of work incentives is furthered.

The President's Task Force also recommended updating the assets or resources eligibility standards of the program. Consistent with Task Force recommendations, the bill would, effective April 1, 1985, increase the assets eligibility standard for the elderly from \$3,000 to \$3,500, and for other households from \$1,500 to \$2,250. It also exempts from counting for program purposes property directly related to the maintenance or use of a vehicle that does not count as an asset for program purposes because it produces income—a taxi or truck, for example—or is used to transport a handicapped person. This provision was included to eliminate confusion that has arisen in the past as to the appropriate treatment of property of this nature—such as lots on which vehicles are parked and maintenance equipment for such vehicles—in calculating the value of household assets.

Further, the bill would increase from \$4,500 to \$5,500 the threshold above which the value of "nonexempt" household vehicles used for continuing or obtaining employment, or for other household purposes, is counted in computing the amount of a household's assets for program purposes. For example, if such a car is worth \$6,000, \$1,500 is now counted in this computation. The \$4,500 threshold for counting vehicle value has not been increased since 1977, notwithstanding a better than 90-percent increase in the cost of used cars over that period. I would add, however, that the modification in the vehicle value threshold was the subject of some disagreement within our committee. Some members believe that the present \$4,500 threshold should be maintained.

With respect to other aspects of the program, the President's Task Force recommended that State agencies that operate the program implement procedures for staggering their issuance of stamps throughout the entire month, and keep food stamp offices open

during evening and weekend hours to better serve recipients, particularly those who work. The bill also addresses these recommendations. And the Task Force recommended that the homeless not be excluded from participation in the program merely because they have no fixed address. While current provisions of law do not exclude the homeless from the program, H.R. 5151 contains provisions making it explicitly clear that the homeless are eligible to participate if they qualify under the regular eligibility standards of the program. Although the bill requires that State agencies insure that methods for certifying the homeless limit program participation to eligible households, it is not the committee's intent that State agencies apply to the homeless extraordinary certification measures not applicable to other households seeking to participate in the program. For example, the homeless should receive expedited service under the same circumstances that apply in the case of other applicants.

In addition, the bill would make other modifications in the legislation governing the program. It would restore to the State agencies the option of using a variety of procedures for calculating household income for program purposes. Under present law, the State agencies are required to employ what is referred to as "retrospective budgeting," together with monthly reporting, for certain households. This procedure entails, for these households, a monthly report of their circumstances and a determination of their income—and thus their program benefits—on the basis of their reports, which reflect income in the preceding month.

A majority of the State agencies have strongly objected to this mandatory process because, among other reasons, it is said, first, to impose an undue burden upon participants to submit, and upon the State agencies to handle, a huge volume of reports on a monthly basis, and second, not to be cost-effective.

The provisions of the bill are designed to give State agencies a broad choice in fashioning the procedures to be used to determine household income. Under the bill, the State agencies may require households to report monthly or at less frequent intervals. But, in this regard, no change would be made in the statutory requirement that households not required to submit monthly or other periodic reports must report to the State agency any changes in household income or other circumstances necessary for accurate eligibility and benefit determination. The State agency would also be free to choose whether or to what extent it would utilize retrospective budgeting.

In connection with this provision, I would note that the bill requires that

the State agencies use "prospective accounting" for households upon their application for the program. This provision essentially reflects current regulations governing the program. It provides that when households enter the program, ordinarily because of a change in their household status, they will not, during their beginning period of program participation, experience the hardship that application of "retrospective budgeting" could well impose upon them.

While the bill would give the States a great deal of flexibility in these program matters, it would, on the other hand, effective beginning with fiscal 1986, make the States liable to the Federal Government for the full value of all excess coupons issued during a fiscal year attributable to State administrative error rates exceeding 5 percent. This change would continue the 5 percent administrative error rate standard and that becomes effective under current law on October 1, 1984, but it would impose, beginning in fiscal year 1986, more stringent sanctions than exist under current law for States that fail to meet the 5-percent standard.

The provision of the bill giving the States an option on "monthly reporting/retrospective budgeting" was the subject of some disagreement within the committee. Some members believe that the monthly reporting requirements that are a customary element of retrospective accounting instill a useful discipline into the program. However, the view of most of the committee, a view with which I concur, is that available information does not establish the efficacy of these requirements and that the combination of State option on these procedures, together with more stringent sanctions for State agency error, is most likely to achieve the desired error rate reduction.

Further, the bill requires the Secretary of Agriculture to take certain steps to enhance the effectiveness of measures designed to ascertain the nutritional status of low-income households. It requires the Department of Agriculture to include in its food consumption surveys a representative sample of low-income households and requires, to the extent practicable, that it collect information on food and other household expenditures. It also authorizes additional funds that would be used by the cooperative extension services in the States in expanding their programs for providing food, consumer, and nutrition education to low-income households.

Other features of the bill include revising the definition of "disabled" to include several categories of persons whose disabilities are equivalent to those of the disabled now included in the act. This would make available to similarly situated disabled persons cer-

tain special considerations under the program.

H.R. 5151 would also increase the current ceiling on the combined deduction for dependent care and excess shelter expenses in a manner that would more adequately recognize the heavy expense borne by many food stamp households, particularly in connection with child care costs incurred by those who work, and to a degree relieve the "heat or eat" dilemma faced by many low-income individuals.

The bill would also implement measures to insure that the program is effectively carried out on an emergency basis in areas suffering from disasters by requiring the Secretary to dispatch members of his "Disaster Task Force" to affected areas. The objective here is to be sure that State and local food stamp offices are familiar with the program's special provisions for emergency situations.

H.R. 5151 would require that State agencies use improved tools for verifying household income that have been made available under provisions of law recently enacted by Congress involving access to tax return information on unearned income. And it would strengthen the job search program carried out by State agencies under which certain program participants who are required to register for work are also required to participate in certain job search activities. State agencies would have the latitude to shape their job search programs in what they believe is the most effective manner. H.R. 5151 would allow them to exempt from the program categories of household members whose participation would be impracticable, and to exempt individual household members—or to suspend application of program requirements to such members—because personal circumstances make their participation impracticable. Thus, the bill contemplates that State agencies will target their job search activities on that segment of the caseload required to register for work that will most likely benefit from such activities.

In related matters, the bill establishes a 4-year pilot food assistance program for the rural areas of Alaska where, because of unique characteristics of remoteness of small populations and other factors, operation of the food stamp program is not practicable. The bill gives the State and the Secretary a great deal of flexibility in fashioning a program to meet the truly extraordinary conditions present in Alaska's rural areas.

The provisions of the bill establishing a pilot food assistance program for the rural areas of Alaska include a requirement that the basis for the funding for the program for the fiscal year 1986 is the amount that would have been expended to carry out the regu-

lar food stamp program in such areas during that fiscal year. While this base is subject to adjustment, as provided in the bill, I wish to make very clear that this base is to reflect the value of the enhanced program benefits for rural Alaska that were required by Public Law 97-98, approved on December 22, 1981.

H.R. 5151, as originally introduced, contained a directive requiring the Secretary forthwith to issue regulations implementing the statutory provision enacted in 1981. Before committee markup of the bill was completed, the Secretary finally issued such regulations. Therefore, the committee deleted this directive during its consideration of the bill. In view of these developments, the committee, in prescribing the basic funding level for the pilot food assistance program for rural Alaska for fiscal year 1986, understood that the level will, of necessity, reflect the special allotment levels that the Secretary's new regulations belatedly have put into effect. Even though I believe the legislative language requires this result, I emphasize the point to eliminate any possible misunderstanding as to what the bill contemplates.

The bill would also prohibit banks and other financial institutions from assessing fees or charges for redeeming coupons for food stores that participate in the program if those stores present those coupons generally in a manner that conforms with the requirements placed upon financial institutions in presenting coupons to the Federal Reserve banks. And it would expand the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, under which food assistance is now provided to certain women, infants, and children, to permit program operators to include the elderly among program beneficiaries, so long as doing so will not diminish assistance to women, infants, and children.

Mr. Chairman, the provisions of H.R. 5151 do not provide the degree of additional assistance that some believe should be made available to our needy. However, the bill does adopt realistic measures to target its enhanced benefits in a manner recommended by many who are concerned with problems of the hungry, including the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. It recognizes the budgetary realities with which we are faced and, in my judgment, represents a judicious and balanced approach, given the various competing influences under which we must legislate. I would add that the costs associated with the bill, as modified by our committee, fall within the spending target of the budget resolution passed by the House. For these reasons, the great majority of the provisions of the bill enjoyed broad bipartisan support in the Committee on Agriculture. I ask Members to give H.R.

5151 the enthusiastic support I believe it merits.

Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. PANETTA].

Mr. PANETTA. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. The bill, I think, is a constructive and responsible effort to address one of the most serious issues facing the country today; that is, domestic hunger. Just as the issue of hunger is not a partisan issue, but rather a national issue, so this bill is not a partisan bill, but a bipartisan effort to try to respond to the needs of those who are hungry.

The ranking member of our subcommittee, BILL EMERSON, and I have worked hard to try and resolve our differences and present to the body a bipartisan effort, and that is contained in H.R. 5151. I thank him for his efforts and his cooperation.

□ 1020

My gratitude also goes to Chairman DE LA GARZA and to the ranking minority member of the full committee, ED MADIGAN, for their help and their cooperation, and also special thanks to JIM JEFFORDS for the help that he provided in initiating H.R. 5151.

We deal with an issue that concerns us all from a moral point of view because we feel it is important and a duty in this country to feed the hungry; from a national point of view because we are a rich Nation, the No. 1 agricultural producer in the world, and it is indeed a national shame to have those who are hungry in a land as wealthy as ours; from a health point of view because a lack of adequate nutrition impacts on the health of the elderly, on the expectant mother, on the newborn child; from an education point of view because the lack of proper nutrition impacts on the quality of education that can be provided to a hungry child; and from a cost point of view because we know that for every dollar we spend on providing good nutrition we save up to \$3 or more in health care costs and in the loss of good education.

So dealing with the hunger issue in our society makes good sense. Yet there are many, many Americans, some in high places, who would question the extent of hunger in our society. Frankly, I think that the question is legitimate. It is legitimate because many Americans do not know what the other side of America is like. They do not go to soup kitchens, they do not go to food pantries on a daily basis, they do not go to the food stamp office.

So the problem is that people do not see on a daily basis the issue of hunger up close. That is another side of America. It is the side that we see in places

like Harlem or the Bronx, or on the South Side of Chicago, or in South Miami Beach, or in Appalachia, or in East Los Angeles, or in the Tenderloin area of San Francisco where the Select Committee Task Force on Domestic Hunger was just a few days ago.

We have been there. The Subcommittee on Nutrition has been there—a number of hearings throughout this country. The Task Force on Domestic Hunger of the Select Committee has been there. The President's Commission has been there. The mayors' task forces, the Governors' task forces, the GAO, religious leaders, the Salvation Army, United Way. They have all been there.

Ask all of them who have been there and have seen this issue up close, and time and time and time again it is the same story. There are more and more Americans who are seeking out food assistance. Soup kitchens, wherever you go, whether it is rural or whether it is urban America, soup kitchens that were serving maybe 50 or 60 transients a few years ago are now serving 500, 600, 700 people. In San Francisco just last week one group that was serving 4,000 a month is now serving 25,000 a month.

This is an issue that involves not just transients any more, but it involves families and children and the unemployed and the elderly. Many do not qualify for benefits. Many have benefits that run out. They are waiting in lines for food, for cheese, for butter, for a bag of groceries. They are ashamed, they are depressed. They have been bypassed by the recovery and bypassed by society.

They are the result, really, of a recession, of unemployment, of jobs that are gone, and of reduced benefits, all of those factors contributing to what we are seeing in the country today.

No one disputes these facts. The issue is no longer whether or not there is hunger in our society; the issue is what are we going to do about it?

The Congress has, on a bipartisan basis, been responsive to this problem. We passed resolutions last year overwhelmingly to try to hold the level of nutrition, of benefits that are provided in existing nutrition programs. We passed a commodity distribution program to try to provide some help to the soup kitchens and the food pantries with regard to the commodities that we have in storage. We, as a body, adopted the Select Committee on Hunger, established it so that it could take a stronger and more firm look at the problems of both domestic hunger as well as hunger abroad.

But we urgently need steps right now to deal with the urgent problems that are being faced in trying to provide relief to the most needy. In approaching this issue, BILL EMERSON

and I had several guidelines that we tried to follow.

One is that we understood that this bill is not going to solve all the hunger problems in this country. We understand that. We will have a reauthorization bill next year as part of the farm bill, and many of the issues that many people are concerned about will have to be looked at closely at that time.

We did feel we had to address the most crucial problems as identified by the subcommittee, as identified by the mayors' groups, the GAO, and most particularly as identified by the President's Task Force on Hunger.

Third, we wanted to keep the cost within the budget resolution. We recognize the problems of the deficit. We recognize that we want to hold spending down in a number of areas, so it was our goal to keep whatever cost this bill would involve within those established by the budget resolution and adopted by the House, and this bill is well within those targets.

There are four key areas we wanted to address, that we think are most important. One is the area of increasing work incentives. The pressing problems that we see out there, the individuals who are there, the most common thread that ties all of them together is that they do not want to be there. They do not want to be there. They are not there because it is great to be in a soup kitchen. Believe me, anyone who has gone there knows how depressing it is. They want to get out of there. They want to get a job. They want to be able to work.

The problem is that over the last few years, the main thrust of the changes that have taken place have created a disincentive for people who want to work, because as soon as they get into a working poor job they lose many of their benefits and then they are forced to go back into the lines.

We want to encourage people to work, so for that reason we restored the deduction for earned income from 18 to 20 percent. We have expanded the Job Search Program and the training requirements that are part of this program to make sure that people get every chance to try to find a job and get off of food stamps.

□ 1030

We have also increased the deduction to try to cover child care expenses so that working mothers can indeed be able to find jobs and keep them.

Second, we wanted to increase the adequacy and accessibility to the benefits provided. Everyone has pointed this out. The President's Task Force has made it clear that we had to provide some modest increase in benefits. What we have seen is that by the third week of every month the benefits often run out. The President's Task Force identified the Thrifty

Food Plan, which is the basis on which we established the benefit, as needing to be increased from 99 to 100 percent of the cost of that plan, and we have done that in this bill. We have followed the President's task force's recommendations.

We have increased the shelter deduction because of the increased cost of housing and utilities. We have updated the assets limitations which in many instances have not been updated since 1971 so that we would be able to accommodate those who truly need this kind of assistance. We have allowed certain handicapped to qualify. We have authorized commodity assistance for the elderly so that they would get that benefit, and we have provided these benefits to the homeless, which is an increasing problem in the country.

Third, we have improved nutrition education and hunger surveillance. What we have found continually is that when these benefits are provided, they are not accompanied with adequate nutrition information as to what is important to buy. So we have included in here assistance to try to improve nutrition education, and we ask the U.S. Department of Agriculture to perform a better surveillance in the country as to who is hungry.

Fourth, we have improved the administration and the accountability of the program. We understand that that has to be continued. We have not reversed one bit of legislation that has been targeted as fraud, waste, and abuse, and we have indeed improved it as part of this bill because we think it is important to do that. If we are going to have this kind of program, it ought to be run efficiently and effectively, both for the taxpayers' purposes and the beneficiaries' purposes. We now utilize information from the IRS in terms of unearned income to make sure we are checking those figures.

We provide for categorical eligibility for AFDC and SSI. We have this tremendous amount of paperwork in which people have to go to one group for one kind of assistance and to another group for another kind of assistance. It is crazy. If they qualify for AFDC, if they qualify for SSI, then they automatically meet the qualifications that are needed in terms of the food stamp program.

We eliminate the mandate with regard to monthly reporting. We find there is a tremendous overload of red-tape at the local administration level, and one of the reasons for it is the monthly reporting requirement. What we do is leave that to be optional to the States. If they want to use it, fine; if they do not, that decision is up to them.

We also provide for increased penalties for those States that do not get their error rates below 5 percent because we think it is important to keep

sending the message out to the States to keep those error rates down.

In conclusion, my views and, I think, the views of my colleagues on the Nutrition Subcommittee are that we have formed a carefully structured compromise. It is not going to solve all the problems of hunger—God knows we know that—but it is a positive step in trying to assist those who are in the greatest need.

If this passes, it will do more to provide help to the hungry than anything we have passed in the last 3 years. This is the basic program, the food stamp program, that deals with the hungry in the country, make no mistake about it. Passing this legislation will do more in one blow than anything else we have done in the last 3 to 4 years.

We target at the needs that have been identified by the President's Task Force. We recognize that. This is not something which reverses what we have done in the past. It targets at the needs that everyone agrees need to be met at the present time.

So please, let us not delay on this legislation. It is easy to talk about the hungry. We all love to talk about the real problems wherever we go, but the real challenge is to do something, and H.R. 5151 is doing something about the problem.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. This bill is a constructive and responsible effort to address one of the most serious issues facing this country today—domestic hunger. It comes to the floor today with widespread bipartisan support. I am grateful for the assistance of Chairman DE LA GARZA, the ranking minority member of the agriculture committee, Mr. MADIGAN, and the ranking minority member of the Nutrition Subcommittee, Mr. EMERSON, in forging this balanced package. Special thanks are also due Mr. JEFFORDS for his help in formulating H.R. 5151, as introduced.

In my capacities as both chairman of the Nutrition Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee and as chairman of the task force on domestic hunger of the House Select Committee on Hunger, I have seen the domestic hunger problem firsthand. As I have stated so many times before, the existence of hunger in this country, and especially to the degree it now exists, is a national shame.

Over the past 16 months, the nutrition subcommittee has conducted extensive hearings in Washington and around the country that leave no doubt that there has been a significant increase in the number of Americans who have difficulty feeding themselves from month to month. Witness after credible witness—including big city mayors from both political parties, religious leaders, United Way rep-

representatives, State welfare administrators, business leaders and others—have described a dramatic growth in the demand for emergency food assistance. These findings have been confirmed by reports of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the General Accounting Office, the Citizens Commission on Hunger in New England, and many others, including the President's task force on food assistance.

In addition, our subcommittee has heard testimony from doctors, nurses, and other health professionals citing a growing body of evidence that links the current hunger problem with significant health problems—such as improper growth rates in children. I suspect that even more evidence along these lines will emerge from a series of hearings scheduled for this summer by the select committee on hunger.

Our subcommittee hearings this year and other reports also indicate that, despite the current improvement in the economy, the hunger problem is not abating. Testimony in Miami and Chicago this past March and recent surveys by the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the United Way indicate that emergency food aid demand in 1984 is likely to be as high or higher than in 1983, and shows no signs of slowing in 1985. It would appear that those most in need are among the last to reap the benefits of economic recovery.

Unfortunately, there are many persons in our society who will gain little relief even if the economy continues to improve. Those who cannot work—elderly and disabled persons, certain single parents with children—and those who already work but whose earnings leave them far below the poverty line, are helped little, if at all, by lowered unemployment. They are reliant upon the social safety net, which has been significantly damaged by recent reductions in most programs serving the poor. Even if continued economic recovery reduces the total number of Americans in need, these people would continue to face a serious hunger problem.

It was to address this concern that I, along with Mr. JEFFORDS and many others, introduced H.R. 5151 on March 15, 1984. As introduced, H.R. 5151 was designed to strengthen the various Federal feeding programs—school lunch, WIC, elderly feeding, food stamps—that had been credited with virtually eliminating hunger in America by the late 1970's. The bill, as reported, has been modified to accommodate the split jurisdiction of House committees over feeding programs and to bring the bill's cost within the spending targets assumed in the fiscal year 1985 House-passed budget resolution. Although the portions of H.R. 5151 relating to child nutrition and elderly feeding have been dropped, virtually the same child nutrition and el-

derly feeding proposals are working their way through Congress in separate bills (H.R. 7 and H.R. 4785, respectively).

However, even if all of these bills were to be approved by Congress and signed by the President, much would be left to be done. These bills would only achieve what I call a "down payment" on hunger. They would be constructive and helpful, but not put an end to the problem. Next year, I intend to pursue the unfinished agenda of H.R. 5151, as introduced. Issues of priority concern to me include basing food stamp benefits on a more adequate standard and providing for a separate deduction for dependent care expenses. Also, as H.R. 5151 now requires, I believe that a thorough review of the food stamp quality control system, and the sanctions based upon it, is necessary.

THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE

As reported, H.R. 5151 includes many specific recommendations of the President's task force on food assistance. By raising the current assets limitations and basing benefits on 100 percent of the thrifty food plan in fiscal year 1985, the bill adopts the task force's most central recommendations to improve the adequacy and accessibility of the food stamp program. Other specific task force recommendations relating to the eligibility of the homeless, categorical eligibility, the staggering of coupon issuance, the hours of operation of food stamp offices, error rate sanctions, and nutrition surveillance are included in the bill.

In regard to the homeless, H.R. 5151 attempts to balance their need for assistance with the need to maintain maximum program accountability. Thus, while the eligibility of the homeless is clarified, State agencies must take steps to assure that only those eligible for assistance are provided benefits. In providing benefits on an expedited or regular basis, food stamp offices would be expected to generally check the eligibility factors that are checked for other applicants. The intent of the bill is to make it no tougher and no easier for the homeless to gain eligibility than for other persons.

H.R. 5151 also addresses areas that the task force identified as problem areas, but on which it made no specific recommendations. The task force acknowledged that rapidly increasing energy costs now consume a disproportionate share of the budgets of low-income persons. The bill addresses this issue by raising the ceiling on the excess shelter/dependent care deduction. The bill would also increase work incentives, another concern of the task force, by restoring the earned income deduction from 18 percent to 20 percent, and by increasing the funding and flexibility provided to the States

in conducting job search and job search training programs. Increasing the excess shelter/dependent care deduction also increases work incentives for those who incur child care costs.

JOB SEARCH

The job search provision is an important component of the bill. It is my hope that H.R. 5151 will result in a greater number of positive efforts to prepare and place food stamp recipients in unsubsidized employment. The increased funding provided under this bill (from about \$31 million to \$50 million) for job search and job search training programs should enable wider utilization of innovative approaches, such as job finding clubs.

Importantly, States would be afforded great flexibility, consistent with fundamental client protections, in determining what persons are subject to job search requirements and what those requirements are. States could decide, for instance, to focus on those work registrants for whom they believe the job search program would be most successful and limit the scope of job search accordingly. Or a State could operate a job search program of wide application that provides fewer services to clients. In each instance, I hope that States would make their choices according to what works. I, too, often hear that current work registration and job search procedures are little more than an exercise in paper shuffling. I hope that States will move to more meaningful programs.

In providing States flexibility to design job search programs, H.R. 5151 also strengthens client protections. Job search requirements would be of limited duration—ordinarily 2 months a year—and participants would be reimbursed—up to \$25 a month—for actual out-of-pocket expenses they incur in meeting them. The penalty for failure to comply with job search requirements would be specified (disqualification of the entire household for 2 months), although the bill makes clear that all participants must be given the opportunity to cure their disqualifications and have the right to return to the program once such cure is effectuated. Under H.R. 5151, persons who fail to meet the work requirements of other programs—such as AFDC—would not be penalized unless the violated work requirement was comparable to a food stamp work requirement and the other program has made a final determination that a violation has occurred.

MONTHLY REPORTING AND RETROSPECTIVE BUDGETING (MRRE)

By making monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting optional, H.R. 5151 would take an important step toward improving food stamp program management, and, in some instances, combating hunger. H.R. 5151 would

make clear that States are free to choose whether to utilize monthly reporting, periodic reporting, or a system whereby clients report changes as they occur. Similarly, States could choose whether to utilize prospective or retrospective budgeting. Under H.R. 5151, States would be free to mix and match reporting systems and accounting periods as they see fit.

Of course, should a State choose to utilize MRRB, the same limitations on its use and the same client protections provided in current law and regulations would apply; for example, certain households, such as the elderly and migrants, would be exempt from MRRB. Also, retrospective budgeting could not be utilized when determining initial eligibility.

Virtually every State and local welfare department favors a State option on MRRB. They believe that Federal officials are in no position to judge whether and to what extent MRRB is advisable in a given State. Especially since early pilot tests of MRRB show that MRRB can result in the disqualification of needy, eligible persons, I believe we should refrain from mandating this cumbersome and costly administrative procedure nationwide.

CONCLUSION

As I stated earlier, H.R. 5151 is a bill worthy of widespread bipartisan support. It would provide additional benefits where they are most needed, make the food stamp program more accessible to the "new poor," increase work incentives, and improve program administration.

This bill is a carefully structured package, and as is the case for all compromises, is not totally satisfactory in all aspects for all parties. However it is, in my view, indisputably a positive step for those who are concerned about fighting hunger in this country. And I am greatly heartened that we have been able to move this bill forward in a spirit of bipartisan cooperation.

FOOD STAMP FACTS,¹ JULY 23, 1984

(1) WHO RECEIVES FOOD STAMPS?

As of May 1984, 21.2 million people in about 7 million households receive food stamps.

70 percent of all households are headed by women.

60 percent of all participants are either very young, very old, or disabled.

58 percent of all households have children and these households receive almost 80 percent of all benefits.

About 47 percent of all participants are children.

About 20 percent of all households contain one or more elderly persons. Almost 90 percent of these households are elderly persons living alone or with one other person, who is usually elderly.

18 percent of all households have earners.

46 percent of all household heads are white, 37 percent are black, and about 10 percent are Hispanic.

(2) HOW POOR ARE FOOD STAMP PARTICIPANTS?

The average gross income of all households is \$356 a month or \$4,272 a year. Average net income is \$205 a month or \$2,460 a year.

95 percent of all households have gross incomes below the poverty line and they receive 98 percent of all benefits. (When food stamp benefits are included, 92 percent of all households have gross incomes below the poverty line.)

42 percent of all households have gross incomes below one half of the poverty line and they receive 59 percent of all benefits.

76 percent of all households own no countable assets; 97 percent own assets of \$500 or less; 99.7 percent own assets of \$1,500 or less.

(3) WHAT LEVEL OF BENEFITS IS PROVIDED?

The average benefit is about \$37.60 per person per month, or about 42 cents per person per meal.

The maximum benefit is about 70 cents per person per meal.

8 percent of all households receive the \$10 minimum benefit. Of these households, 77 percent have an elderly member. One person households at the minimum benefit receive 11 cents per person per meal.

RECENT LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS TO COMBAT ERROR, FRAUD AND ABUSE IN THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

1983—PUBLIC LAW 98-204

Permitted states utilizing monthly reporting to conduct face to face recertifications more often than every six months.

Broadened the ability of states to cross-check information from other programs in verifying the eligibility and payment levels of food stamp participants.

Enhanced the ability of states to target the use of monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting on participants for whom it would be the most cost-effective.

1982—PUBLIC LAW 97-253

States were granted increased means by which to collect fraud and nonfraud overissuances. As an incentive for increased state activity in this area, states were authorized to retain 50 percent of fraud recoveries and 25 percent of nonfraud recoveries.

Substantial penalties were established for states that fail to meet stringent error rate goals. States failing to reach a 5 percent error rate by FY 1985 would lose part or all of their administrative funding. Financial incentives were established for states with error rates below 5 percent.

The maximum civil money penalty for retail stores violating the Food Stamp Act was raised from \$5,000 to \$10,000 and the program disqualification periods for stores violating the Act was increased.

The Secretary was authorized to require a bond to be posted by stores previously disqualified or subjected to a civil penalty for Food Stamp Act violations or trafficking coupons.

Households that experience a loss of income resulting from a penalty imposed for intentional failure to comply with a Federal, State, or local welfare law were prohibited from having an increase in food stamp benefits due to a loss of that income.

The Secretary was authorized to restrict the number of households that could be served by an authorized representative.

1981—PUBLIC LAW 97-98

States were made strictly liable for any losses in the handling and issuing of food stamps, including losses involving failure of coupon issuers to comply with prescribed requirements.

The Comptroller General of the United States was provided access to applicant and recipient records and to records relating to retail and wholesale food concerns, for audit and examination purposes.

State agencies were required (earlier law provided option to States) to utilize wage data collected by the Social Security Administration and State unemployment compensation agencies for the purpose of verifying the earnings of food stamp recipients.

Households were required to furnish the Social Security numbers of all household members in order to become eligible to participate in the program.

Retail stores participating in the program were required to display a sign providing information on how persons may report observed cases of food stamp abuse.

Food stamp applications were required to contain notices to applicants the information they provided would be subject to verification and that if any material part of the information were incorrect food stamps might be denied and criminal prosecution might result.

Local, State, and Federal law enforcement officials were provided access to information furnished by applicants for the purpose of investigating alleged violations of the Food Stamp Act.

Prison sentences were required for the second and subsequent convictions for violations of the Act or program regulations. Courts were authorized to suspend any convicted violator from the program for up to 18 months, in addition to any regular disqualification period under the Act. Further, courts could permit work approved by the courts as restitution for losses incurred by the violation.

Additional powers were granted to persons within the Department of Agriculture's Office of Inspector General who conduct investigations of felony criminal violations of the Act.

1981—PUBLIC LAW 97-35

Applicants and recipients who misrepresented their circumstances were subjected to the same disqualification periods and penalties as those who commit fraud.

Recipients found to have committed fraud or misrepresentation by either a court or an administrative hearing were disqualified for a period of 6 months for the first offense; 12 months for the second offense; and permanently for the third offense.

Households receiving an overissuance of food stamps due to an error or mistake (rather than because of misrepresentation or fraud) would have their benefits lowered in subsequent months to recoup the overissuance.

State agencies were provided additional incentive to more aggressively pursue collection efforts by being able to retain 25 percent of all non-fraud and non-misrepresentation overissuances recovered.

1980—PUBLIC LAW 96-249

States were provided an incentive to reduce error rates. The current 50 percent Federal matching rate for State administrative costs was increased to 65 percent for States with error rates below 5 percent; 60 percent for States with error rates between 5 and 8 percent; and 55 percent for States

¹ Most of the facts and figures included here are taken from "Characteristics of Food Stamp Households: August 1982," issued by USDA in June 1984.

which lower their error rates at least 25 percent from the preceding year.

An error rate sanction system was established whereby States that fail to reduce error rates below specified targets were liable for the cost of all errors above such targets.

Seventy-five percent Federal funding was provided to the States for costs incurred in developing and installing computer systems to reduce errors and to allow for computer matching.

States were authorized to conduct computer wage matching of information supplied by applicants and recipients against all available Social Security wage and benefit data and information in the files of State unemployment compensation agencies.

State agencies' authority for verification of household information was expanded to allow for development of error-prone profiles as a basis for mandatory verification requirements.

Certified households were required to present photo identification cards when exchanging food stamp authorization cards for food stamps in those areas in which the Secretary, in consultation with the Inspector General, finds that such a procedure would help protect the integrity of the program.

Food stamp certification personnel who determine, on the basis of information furnished by a household, that a member of the household is an illegal alien were required to report that information to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Secretary was authorized to confiscate cash or goods used in food stamp trafficking.

States were allowed to use retrospective accounting and periodic reporting procedures to reduce error rates in those States that can implement these systems in a cost-effective manner.

1979—PUBLIC LAW 96-58

Applicants were required to provide Social Security numbers.

Individuals disqualified from program participation for fraud were prohibited from re-entering the program after the disqualification period had been served unless they arranged to repay the amount fraudulently obtained.

As an incentive to intensify anti-fraud activity, States were allowed to retain 50 percent of the funds recovered as a result of their fraud investigations and prosecutions.

1977—PUBLIC LAW 95-113

Persons found to have committed fraud were disqualified from participation for 3-27 months.

States were encouraged to investigate and prosecute fraud by an increase in Federal cost-sharing for such activities from 50 to 75 percent.

Elimination of the purchase requirement eliminated vendor fraud related to the handling of the participants' cash payments.

Persons who knowingly transferred assets in order to become eligible for food stamps were declared ineligible to receive them for up to one year.

Persons who refused to cooperate with program officials by denying requested data needed to determine their eligibility, or to complete quality control reviews, were denied or terminated from the program.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of

1984. In my role as the ranking minority member on the Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition Subcommittee I have worked closely with the gentleman from California, Mr. PANETTA, chairman of the subcommittee. We have traveled across the country, holding hearings, visiting soup kitchens, welfare offices, and food distribution centers. Our subcommittee looked into the problems of hunger and food assistance programs and evaluated efforts to address the issue at all levels of government and within the private sector.

We found that the lengthy recession and unemployment have caused suffering—no one disputes this. There are very positive signs that the economy is turning around—but while that occurs there are people in need and receiving assistance from Federal programs, their own community, and the private sector.

The Food Stamp Program is the major food assistance program operated by the Federal Government and is the program through which food aid is best delivered. Over 22 million people—1 in 10—receive assistance through this program. Through this program and others such as the school lunch program over 95 million meals per day are subsidized by the Federal Government and millions of pounds of cheese, butter, and other surplus commodities are ordered by States to distribute to their needy people.

This year almost \$19.5 billion will be spent on food assistance programs by the Federal Government. An increase since 1980 when the amount spent was \$13.8 billion.

Community organizations and churches also help and in 1982, according to the publication "Giving U.S.A.," an estimated \$60.39 billion was donated to hundreds of thousands of charitable organizations, institutions, and agencies—many of which help feed the needy in America.

In addition, last year the gentleman from California and I worked closely together on a bill that expanded the kinds of surplus commodities that can be distributed to needy people, extended the surplus distribution program for 2 years and authorized administrative funding to be paid for the actual costs of storing, transporting, handling, and distributing these surplus commodities. The gentleman from California and I worked very closely on this legislation and we agreed that it is not designed to take the place of the food assistance programs I mentioned previously. However, because of high unemployment rates—still felt in parts of the country—the past recession and the fact that surplus commodities are being stored by the Federal Government, I believe these surplus commodities should be made available to people in need.

Under that legislation passed by the Congress and the initiatives of the Department of Agriculture a total of 1 billion pounds of staple foods—such as cheese, butter, rice, and flour—have been distributed for use by individual households. Since July 1983 over 107 million pounds of canned foods—chicken, beef, tuna, pears, and sweet potatoes—have been distributed for use by these households.

All this is in addition to the 1.8 billion pounds of surplus food that is distributed each year to schools, nursing homes, hospitals, elderly feeding centers, and other charitable institutions.

The gentleman from California and I recognized that hunger in America and solutions to the problem must be offered in a bipartisan manner. As I mentioned earlier our subcommittee has studied the hunger issue on this basis. As a result of that effort the surplus commodity distribution program was extended for 2 years. We worked together on that piece of legislation—just as we worked together during the 97th Congress to achieve some necessary reforms in this program.

As a result of our efforts we have this bill before us today. H.R. 5151—the Hunger Relief Act—was designed to address in a responsible manner, the problems our subcommittee heard of and saw in our hearings. I believe we have accomplished this.

Our subcommittee incorporated in H.R. 5151, the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance, other groups assessing the needs within their communities and organizations involved in feeding and helping poor people.

H.R. 5151 makes changes in the law in several broad areas. I would like to discuss several of the provisions of the bill before us today.

PROGRAM BENEFITS

H.R. 5151 increases program benefits and improves the operation of the Food Stamp Program.

The regular annual adjustment of the thrifty food plan, which is the basis for the food stamp benefits, will be based on 100 percent of this thrifty food plan—as opposed to the 99 percent now provided for October 1984. The President's task force recommended this action. The task force described a concern that many households cannot tolerate any reduction in purchasing power—no matter how small—and recommended that food stamp benefits be raised by increasing the full allotment to equal 100 percent of the thrifty food plan. The program will return to its stated goal of providing the purchasing power necessary to buy a basic nutritionally adequate diet as measured by the cost of the food plan.

Additionally the October 1, 1985, adjustment to the thrifty food plan will

be based on 101 percent of the benefit level. The 1-year increase in benefits is intended to provide additional meals for needy Americans while the food benefit levels of the Food Stamp Program are reviewed.

It makes sense that we look at the methods of calculating benefit levels for the poor—so that many items such as the needs of the elderly, cost of food in rural areas, the quality of diets, and other factors can be thoroughly reviewed.

As most Members know the actual benefit an individual or a family can receive is based on a determination that 30 cents of each dollar is spent on food by an average household. Therefore, an average family of four with a new monthly income of \$500 would be expected to spend \$150 on food. The thrifty food plan for a family of four currently is \$253. The food stamp benefit is the difference between the thrifty food plan (\$253) and the amount expected to be spent on food (\$150) or \$103. This is supplied in cash by the household.

Therefore most food stamp participants do not receive the full level of benefits since the elimination of the purchase requirement in the 1977 act. They are expected to put up some of their money for the purchase of food. The food stamp purchase requirement was eliminated in order to improve access to the program and allow more needy people to participate. That goal was accomplished.

However, one of the byproducts of the elimination of the purchase requirement was that for most participants, food stamp benefits will not last for the entire month. Eighty percent of food stamp participants receive partial benefits and at the end of the month—or depending on household income they will run out of benefits and must use their own funds to buy food. This is an important facet of the Food Stamp Program and when critics charge that the program doesn't work because people run out of stamps, they are either ill informed as to the program itself or misleading the public.

The definition of who is considered to be disabled and thereby qualified for additional benefits is expanded in H.R. 5151. Certain veterans, persons receiving railroad retirement benefits and certain individuals receiving supplemental benefits because of blindness or a disability will now be included in the definition of disability. All persons must demonstrate that they are at least as disabled as those receiving permanent and total disability in the SSI and Social Security programs.

The food stamp resource limitations are increased from \$1,500 to \$2,250 for most households and from \$3,000 to \$3,500 for households containing elderly persons. This was a specific recommendation of the President's task

force. The task force emphasized in its report, that many "new poor" households which have lost income due to unemployment in the past recession do not qualify for food stamps because they own too many assets. In addition, because of the lag between application for assistance and actual enrollment in the program, households living off their assets may get close to complete depletion of assets before they fall into eligibility level and benefits begin. These households should be given greater access to the food stamp system. Raising the asset limit will help accomplish this.

H.R. 5151 also contains a recommendation of the task force and the gentleman from California that the threshold value of a vehicle be raised to \$5,500. I disagree with this provision and will support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri to retain the present law.

Several of the deductions allowable in the Food Stamp Program are increased. The earned income deduction is increased from 18 to 20 percent of earnings. This deduction is provided to cover a person's expenses that are necessitated by employment such as taxes, uniforms, and transportation. The President's task force, while not specifically recommending this change, did emphasize the importance of increasing work incentives in the program. One way to accomplish this is to increase the work related expense deduction.

The task force believed that Federal programs should be designed to maximize incentives for individuals to participate in the workplace and that participants in Federal assistance programs should be encouraged to obtain the skills and experience that only a job can provide. These same people should not be encouraged to become dependent on assistance on a long-term basis. Eligibility for food stamp benefits should be designed to encourage work.

Also the dependent care shelter deduction is increased from \$125 per month to \$155 per month—a 25-percent increase in this deduction. This deduction is primarily utilized by households with high shelter costs, although working households use the deduction for dependent care costs.

Currently food stamp households receive a deduction for excess shelter costs to the extent they exceed 50 percent of net income. Raising the deduction to \$155 would result in benefit increases for households with the high shelter and utility costs and for some who have dependent care costs. Up to \$25 more a month in dependent care costs could be deducted by those who incur them. This results not only in increased work incentives but also greater flexibility for those who must pay for dependent care in order to work.

The Commodity Supplemental Food Program [CSFP] is expanded to allow administrators of this program to provide supplemental food to the elderly, under regulations set by the Secretary. The 1981 farm bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to begin elderly feeding pilot projects to test distribution of commodities as a way to help elderly poor persons. Funds were made available for pilot projects, beginning in September 1982, in Detroit, MI, and Des Moines, IA, and beginning December 1982, in New Orleans, LA.

The 2-year demonstration projects have provided necessary monthly food packages to low income senior citizens. H.R. 5151 provides that CSFP can, at the option of local program operators, be extended to elderly persons, provided that such extension does not deny commodities to eligible women, infants, and children. Local programs would be able to serve elderly persons only to the extent they can be served within the caseload authorized for any fiscal year set by USDA.

H.R. 5151 will also ensure that individuals without a fixed home address are eligible for participation in the Food Stamp Program. The President's task force included this provision among its recommendations to improve the Food Stamp Program. It was reported to the task force that 19 States required an individual to have a fixed household address in order to be eligible for food stamps. The task force believed it unfair that States arbitrarily eliminate the homeless from this major national entitlement program.

While our committee recognizes the need to ensure the homeless are not denied benefits solely due to a lack of a fixed address, it must be emphasized that States take care that all food stamp eligibility factors are met before benefits are made available to such applicants. States may have used the fixed address as a means to protect against multiple participation of households in the food stamp program. I want to make sure that while the absence of a fixed address does not preclude food stamp eligibility, neither does it relieve the State of its responsibility to protect against abuse of the Food Stamp Program.

WORK INCENTIVES

The second precept of H.R. 5151 is to increase work incentives within the Food Stamp Program. I have mentioned two of them previously. They are the increase in the work expense deduction from 18 to 20 percent of earnings and the increase in the shelter/dependent care deduction from \$125 per month to \$155 per month. The latter increase can enable households containing a working person and a dependent—for example, a child or an elderly parent in need of care—to

pay for these home care expenses covered by this deduction.

The major work incentive contained in this bill is the provision concerning job search. H.R. 5151 authorizes \$50 million per year to provide basic funding for job search programs, including job search training and support activities. This funding will be used with the goal in mind to aid food stamp participants to find and keep jobs. It is my hope that States will design innovative programs—such as job finding clubs, training in techniques of how to find and keep a job and how to interview for a job. The chairman of the subcommittee and I visited such an activity in San Diego, CA, and we were impressed with the quality of the programs there. It was evident to me that some food stamp participants need basic skills training in a short term approach to help them find jobs—jobs in the private sector. H.R. 5151 can provide States with the means to accomplish this.

The job search provision contained in H.R. 5151 also:

First, provides 50-percent Federal match for State job search costs exceeding the \$50 million authorization—including a 50-percent match for the up to \$25 per month work expenses allowed for participants meeting job search requirements;

Second, allow States flexibility in the design of job search requirements, including determining those who would be subject to these requirements—based on the broad category of those now subject to work registration requirements;

Third, requires the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Congress by April 1, 1987, on these State programs and to measure the success of such participants in getting and keeping jobs; and

Fourth, establishes a disqualification period of 60 days for a household in which a member fails to meet job search requirements. Once these requirements are satisfied the household can be eligible for reinstatement to the Food Stamp Program.

I am pleased this provision of H.R. 5151 will provide States with the necessary flexibility to design required job programs, with the result being jobs for food stamp participants.

PROGRAM ACCOUNTABILITY

The third area of H.R. 5151 concerns increases in program accountability. As Members know States carry the responsibility to administer the Food Stamp Program, based on Federal laws and regulations. There are many areas of the Food Stamp Program in which States have limited flexibility. States commonly request more similarity among the various programs aimed at helping poor people. H.R. 5151 provides for one change to accomplish this.

In this bill we simplify the application procedures for the Food Stamp Program by providing for categorical eligibility for all AFDC and SSI households.

This was a recommendation of the President's Task Force, which heard many complaints that the application procedures for the Food Stamp Program were too complex and time consuming. State program administrators argued that initial program complexity, combined with the many changes that have been made subsequently in the program are the reasons why payment error rates are at their present unacceptably high levels.

Under the provisions of the bill, food stamp benefits would still be calculated using food stamp rules. Additionally, language has been included that would ensure that any AFDC and SSI household that loses its eligibility for those programs would not lose its food stamp eligibility without a determination under food stamp rules that the household fails to meet food stamp eligibility standards.

A second part of the increase in program accountability contained in H.R. 5151 concerns the requirement that States request and use the information on unearned income available from the Internal Revenue Service [IRS], typically reported on 1099 forms. This would complement existing requirements for obtaining and using earned income information and further assist States in verifying both recipient income and assets.

Recent experiments with bank matching have indicated that information on unearned income may be a valuable new verification tool. Such unearned income information is best used to identify cases that warrant further investigation and requires State agencies to target this information on those uses that are most likely to identify and prevent ineligibility and improper food stamp benefits.

Protections are included to require independent verification, which would include verification of the actual amount involved and an evaluation of whether the household has access to it, including a determination of when the household has or had access to the income or asset identified.

The final area of program accountability concerns sanctions and State error rates. H.R. 5151 retains the provisions in the act now requiring States to reduce the error rates to 7 percent by 1984 and to 5 percent by 1985. Fiscal sanctions remain unchanged until 1986. Effective with the States' performance for fiscal year 1986 and thereafter, for those States not achieving the 5-percent goal, the penalty will be based on the dollar equivalent of overpayment and payments to ineligible households over and above the 5-percent tolerance level. Collection of the sanction for any fiscal year would

occur only after the actual error rate for the fiscal year is determined after the end of the year. The "dollar-for-dollar," over the 5-percent tolerance level, liability would apply beginning with fiscal year 1986 and will not reduce or be taken from household food stamp benefits.

States not reaching the 5-percent goal will be required to repay the Federal Government in 1987. As I said before, food stamp benefits will not and cannot be reduced to recover States sanctions. I know there are those who are concerned that States may reduce other benefits or services in order to pay food stamp sanctions. Any Governor who would decide to lower benefits or services to the citizens of his or her State in order to recover these repayments based on errors made in the Food Stamp Program will be invited to discuss the reasons before our subcommittee. To me it is unconscionable that such a practice would take place.

We took this action because error rates in the Food Stamp Program, while reduced over the past 2 years, are still excessive. The funding for the program comes mainly from the Federal Treasury with 100 percent of benefit costs and 50 percent of the administrative costs paid by the Federal Government. However, States are responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Food Stamp Program.

I recognize that the efficient operation of the program depends on cooperation between the Federal Government and the States and that multiple program changes over the past years have resulted in a program that has known little stability. Nevertheless, many States have done exceptional jobs in running efficient programs and have achieved significant reductions in the rates of error. Others have not. Whether this diversity relates to States placing higher priorities on the administration of other assistance programs, complexities within a State, or other reasons is not known. What is known is that food stamp error rates are too high—\$900 million over the course of a year was issued to participants who were either ineligible or received too many food stamp benefits.

H.R. 5151 also requires the Secretary to report, on April 1, 1985, to the Congress on, first, the effect that the current law on error rate goals, fiscal sanctions and incentives has had on State food stamp error rates, and second, the statistical methods utilized by the Department to calculate State error rates, including the rational for using these methods.

Please be assured that I am steadfast in my resolve to retain the sanctions in H.R. 5151. However I also want to assure that quality control error rates provide an accurate measure of each State's performance and

one that provides a performance measure comparable to the quality control error rates of the other States.

Also we intend to review the sufficiency of the quality control system as a measure of State performance. Remember, the quality of program administration, especially in terms of client service, cannot be measured in error rates alone. Total measurement of States' performance in administering the Food Stamp Program will be subject to review during this review of the fiscal sanction system.

NUTRITION EDUCATION AND MONITORING

The final broad area contained in H.R. 5151 is that of nutrition education and monitoring.

The committee recognized that the effective use of the funds authorized for the Food Stamp Program depends to some degree upon the food choices made by those participating in the program. Therefore we attempted to ensure, to the extent possible, that low-income households have access to programs enabling them to maximize their food dollars and improve their diets. In order to accomplish this, H.R. 5151 authorizes funding to the Department of Agriculture which, through the Extension Service, will make funds available to the State Cooperative Extension Services to expand their food, nutrition, and consumer services for low-income households.

The committee authorizes funding for the Cooperative Extension Services because they operate nutritional education programs, at least one of which—Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program—is aimed at the population that is most likely to rely on the Food Stamp Program. It is this group that should benefit from the increased services. Since the committee wishes that effective food, nutrition, and consumer education services be extended to the greatest number of low-income persons practicable, H.R. 5151 expands the service of the organization already responsible for reaching this population.

Additionally, the Secretary of Agriculture is required, in conducting the Department of Agriculture's continuing survey of food intakes of individuals and any nationwide food consumption survey, to include a sample that is representative of low-income individuals and, to the extent practicable, the collection of information of food and other household expenditures by such individuals, to the extent practicable, continue to maintain the nutrient data base established by the Department of Agriculture, and encourage research by the public and private sectors on effective standards, methodologies, and technologies for accurate assessment of the nutritional and dietary status of individuals.

Other important provisions of H.R. 5151 include the following:

First, States are required to assess the need to keep food stamp offices open during evening and weekend hours. The President's task force was concerned that the Federal programs tend to discourage people from working and felt programs should be designed so that recipients will generally be better off if they choose to work. If working people cannot easily participate in the program, the work incentives built into the program will be reduced. The work incentives of the program will be more effective if recipients who are employed can have access to the system during nonworking hours.

Second, State agencies are permitted to use a method that allows coupon benefits to be issued over the period of the entire month, as long as benefits are not delayed during any implementation procedure. The President's task force found that States may distribute food stamps any time within the first 14 days of a month. In many areas food stamps are sent out on the first of the month. The task force was concerned with the possibility that such phased delivery of stamps can lead to two problems. First, it may allow merchants in areas where food stamps are commonly used to discriminate against food stamp recipients either by assigning higher markups to perishable goods at the beginning of the month, or by having fewer sales at the beginning of the month. Second, demands on private food assistance programs surge at the end of the month when household budgets tend to run short.

Allowing States to stagger the delivery of food stamps will eliminate the potential for merchants to raise their prices in phase with food stamp deliveries and it will help reduce the demands on private food assistance programs toward the end of the month. Staggering has recently been instituted in a few States and counties. The President's task force recommended that it become nationwide, and H.R. 5151 allows this to occur.

Third, banks and other financial institutions are prohibited from charging retail food stores for the cost of depositing food stamps, as long as the food stamps are submitted to the banks in a manner consistent with Federal Reserve bank requirements. I have been concerned for some time about the growing practice of banks charging retail food stores for the deposit of food stamps. The subcommittee received testimony that the current practice of bank charges could result in charges to food stores of up to \$156 million per year, should all banks charge the highest fee. H.R. 5151 corrects this practice, and with the committee's concern that food stamp participants have access to food stores of their choice, reduces the charge that grocery stores may drop

out of the program because of these bank fees.

Fourth, a pilot food assistance program for the poor is established in rural Alaska for the fiscal years 1986 through 1989. Because of the unique conditions of rural Alaska, in which approximately 2,900 food stamp households are scattered over 500,000 square miles, H.R. 5151 authorizes this pilot program in which noncash food assistance benefits will be provided to needy rural Alaskans. Funding for this pilot program will be based on the level of funding anticipated for 1986 and will cover 100 percent of the benefit costs and 50 percent of the administrative costs of the program. Funding will be adjusted to reflect changes in food prices and participation. The design of the program by the State of Alaska will reflect the needs of the rural participants.

I believe H.R. 5151 is a good bill, one that I hope all Members can enthusiastically support. The chairman of the subcommittee and I worked together on this bill and I wish to thank him for his cooperation. He, as always, has been fair and has attempted to accommodate the minority views whenever possible. We have fashioned a good bill. However, we have agreed to disagree on two areas—monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting and the threshold value of a car. Amendments will be offered that will, I believe, improve H.R. 5151 and save almost \$200 million over a 3-year period.

I also wish to thank the ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. MADIGAN]. His guidance has been invaluable.

I urge all Members to support this bill. It is one that increases food stamp benefits, strengthens work incentives, improves program accountability, and provides additional nutrition education for low-income families.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. LELAND], the chairman of the Select Committee on Hunger.

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the gentleman from California [Mr. PANETTA] for his undying concern about the problem of hunger and malnutrition in America. Under his leadership this Congress has been ever aware of the very increasing problems of hunger and has brought to this body today a solution to the various and sundry problems that we realize.

I would like to also commend the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] for his diligence and his work in cooperating and working with and in joining with the gentleman from California [Mr. PANETTA] in bringing this matter to the Congress, because,

indeed, it represents an opportunity for all of us.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. Earlier this year, I joined over 60 of our colleagues in sponsoring H.R. 5151. My endorsement of this bill was prompted by my conviction that the unacceptably high rate of poverty-related hunger in this country demanded a response.

I chair the House Select Committee on Hunger. Last month we conducted hearings in Greenwood, MI, on the issue of the effectiveness and accessibility of Federal food programs. On Monday of this week, we conducted similar hearings in San Francisco. Statements from our witnesses repeatedly told of households running out of food stamp benefits before the end of the month. We heard over and over again about the growing numbers of people visiting food pantries and soup kitchens because their food stamp allotments for the month did not last and there was not enough food left in the house to prepare decent, nutritious meals. These people are hurting.

The Congressional Budget Office has reported that between fiscal years 1982 and 1985, the Food Stamp Program has been reduced by roughly \$7 billion. I would like to focus for a moment on who is participating in this program and who is affected by benefit reductions.

A study released by the U.S. Department of Agriculture just last month—"Characteristics of Food Stamp Households: August 1982"—reported that 95 percent of the households participating in the Food Stamp Program had gross incomes below the poverty line; 42 percent of the participating households had gross incomes below one-half of the poverty line. More than 47 percent of all participants in the program were children, and close to 8 percent of the participants were elderly.

These are vulnerable groups of people who are reliant upon food stamp benefits to augment their food buying power and improve their nutritional status.

Much has been said about the allegedly large sums being spent on food stamps. Too little has been said about unmet needs. For example, the number of persons who fell into poverty between 1981 and 1982 was 2,576,000; yet, the food stamp benefit rolls increased by only 134,000.

I believe that the bill before us today is one small step in providing badly needed help to people in poverty who need support in improving their nutritional status. It is not a cure-all for hunger problems in our Nation, but it is a vital first step. It does demonstrate that this body is serious about moving forward with efforts to alleviate hunger here at home.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that we should confirm our commitment to improving the availability of nutritious food to those who live in poverty. Benefit restorations embodied in H.R. 5151 will enable us to do so. I am going to support this bill and I encourage my colleagues who are serious about increasing inadequate food stamp benefits for those who live in poverty to join me.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA], the ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Hunger.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. As the ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Hunger, I am pleased to be able to add my voice in support of a bill which makes a contribution toward solving the problem of hunger in this country.

First, I would like to commend my colleagues on the Agriculture Committee who have done an outstanding job in developing the provisions of this truly bipartisan bill. Members on both sides of the aisle can be proud of this bill. I wish to thank the chairman of the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition, LEON PANETTA, and the ranking minority member, BILL EMERSON, for their efforts in bringing this bill to the floor. We all serve together on the Select Committee on Hunger, and I know how committed they are to promoting policies which will alleviate the problems of hunger and malnutrition. Over the course of 16 months their subcommittee held hearings across the country to determine the extent of the hunger problem and to gather extensive evidence. This legislation makes many constructive changes in the Food Stamp Program, the major food assistance program for the low income, elderly and disabled population of our country.

As we consider this bill, we do so mindful of the paradox that exists in this country—the overabundance of our Nation's resources and our oversupply, as contrasted to the fact that there are people in the United States who suffer from hunger. This "paradox of hunger," as I refer to it, is a situation which continues to elude and frustrate us. Surely, as we stand here today to consider how we can make food available through the Food Stamp Program, we must ask, why in fact we should even have hungry people at all?

The Hunger Relief Act of 1984 addresses a fact that we as legislators cannot avoid or deny. There are hungry people in the United States, people who do not have adequate diets and need Government assistance of some kind in order to get a decent meal. Americans are now feeling

better about themselves and their prospects for the future. We have recovered from a recession, employment is up, and inflation is down. However, the stark fact remains that 21 million people in this country utilize the Food Stamp Program to meet their daily nutritional needs, and participation in this program to date does not reflect these changes in the economy. In short, about 1 out of every 10 Americans depend in some way on this program.

I speak with first hand knowledge about the importance of this program because of the work which our select committee has done thus far in examining the overall problems of hunger here at home and abroad. We have now visited two vastly different places in this country. Greenwood, MS, and San Francisco, CA, observing the problems of hunger from both a rural and an urban perspective. In each of these cities the need for the Food Stamp Program was forcefully made clear to us. We heard how this program has become a necessity of daily life of many Americans, who rely on them to provide the basics. We were also made aware of their importance when they run out before the end of the month.

This widespread reliance on the Food Stamp Program should also be viewed in the context of economic changes that have taken place in this country. It is clear that increasing numbers of people are taking advantage of private food assistance programs, many of whom are part of a group that has been called the "New Poor." On our trip to San Francisco just a few days ago, we heard from the two large church feeding programs how much an increase there had been in the numbers of people coming for meals. A 1983 GAO report had this to say about the changing types of Americans who now seek food assistance:

No longer are food centers serving only their traditional clientele of the chronically poor, derelicts, alcoholics, and mentally ill persons who typically live on the streets and who most probably will be in need no matter what happens in the economy. Today, many organizations report that a mounting number of "new poor" are contributing to the increasing numbers seeking assistance at many emergency shelters and food centers. This breed of "new poor" is made up of individuals who were employed and perhaps financially stable just a short time ago.

Clearly, the benefits of the Food Stamp Program do reach beyond traditional recipients. In fact, the Food Stamp Program is really this country's major line of defense in the effort to combat hunger and malnutrition for Americans. This point was made in the report of the President's task force on food assistance, many of whose recommendations for program changes are adopted in this bill.

This bill increases the accessibility and adequacy of food benefits, as recommended by the President's task force. It affirms that the homeless may receive benefits if they are otherwise eligible; bases food benefits on 100 percent of the USDA's minimally adequate diet, the thrifty food plan, rather than 99 percent as under current law; and updates monetary limitations to reflect current prices. These provisions will ensure that those who are needy will receive the benefits to which they are entitled.

We should also consider the fiscal aspects of this bill. I point out that the House-passed budget resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 280, allows for the new spending authority contained in H.R. 5151. Quite apart from humanitarian considerations, the long-term costs of hunger, such as increased health-care costs and loss of productivity, far exceed the costs of this legislation.

There are other aspects of H.R. 5151 which deserve mention. Program accountability and administration will also be improved by this legislation. In order to ensure that Federal dollars are not lost to fraud, waste, and abuse, the penalties on States with overpayment error rates in excess of 5 percent will be increased and States will be required to utilize information from the IRS on the unearned income of food stamp recipients. The increased penalties for State error rates will save over \$200 million during fiscal years 1987-89, and the use of IRS information will save almost another \$200 million during fiscal years 1986-89. Administration of the program will be improved by providing categorical eligibility for SSI and AFDC recipients. States will save on administrative expenses by not having to certify those recipients twice—once for the SSI or AFDC programs and once for food stamps.

H.R. 5151 also increases work incentives for Food Stamp Program recipients in a number of its provisions. It raises the amount of earned income from 18- to 20-percent deducted from a household's income when determining eligibility and benefits. This ensures that the working poor do not lose benefits to which they are entitled because they are employed. In addition, it clarifies that States must operate Job search programs and provides greater flexibility and funding to States to assure they have more effective job search programs. Furthermore, it increases the deduction that certain working households can take to cover child care expenses which will help working parents. Another provision requires States to evaluate the need for evening and weekend hours at food stamp offices so that working beneficiaries need not take time off from work in order to apply for benefits.

Nutrition education and hunger surveillance will also be improved by H.R. 5151. It will provide \$30 million during fiscal years 1985-88 to State cooperative extension services to increase nutrition education activities for low-income households. This will help low-income households get more nutrition per food dollar. Another provision will require USDA, out of current funding levels, to survey a representative sample of low-income households in conducting various food consumption surveys. We do need more data on the population served by Federal food programs.

It is clear that passage of H.R. 5151 will contribute greatly to our efforts to eliminate hunger in the United States. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to vote for the Hunger Relief Act of 1984.

□ 1100

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in hearty support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. This bill, reported out of the Agriculture Committee with bipartisan support is a responsive yet reasonable approach to reducing hunger in our country.

During the past few years, Congress has been deeply concerned by the increased accounts of hunger within the United States. This increase has been, in part, due to the recent recession and high unemployment. But more than that, it is a result of changes and cuts in our Federal hunger and nutrition programs called for by the current administration.

In the 1960's, America declared the elimination of hunger a top priority. With the development of food assistance programs we made good progress. Accounts and occurrences of nutrition related diseases dropped across the country. However, the United States has lost ground in this battle in the 1980's.

The budget reductions which have occurred in our food assistance programs over the past few years have come at an inopportune time. In my congressional district in California, the unemployment rate in 1983 was over 10 percent; the average unemployment rate for the first half of 1984 was over 9 percent. Many of these people are "newly unemployed," having lost their work due to plant closings and the changing workplace. This winter, the Kaiser Steel plant in Fontana, which in its prime had employed close to 6,000 workers, closed its doors. This is just one example of responsible and hard working citizens who through no fault of their own must find new employment. This has not been an easy task, and many are

finding it difficult to put food on the table while seeking new employment.

It is time that Congress reaffirm the high priority we have placed on reducing hunger by taking action. H.R. 5151 does just that. This legislation represents a carefully developed bipartisan compromise, consistent with the spending targets in the House-passed budget resolution for fiscal year 1985, while addressing areas and programs identified as those most needing attention. This legislative proposal incorporates many of the recommendations developed by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance and recommendations from other hunger related organizations. H.R. 5151 improves our programs in four basic areas.

This legislation would increase work incentives by restoring the deduction allowed for earned income from 18 to 20 percent, clarifying that States must operate job search programs, providing greater flexibility and funding to States to encourage more effective job search programs, and increasing the deduction that certain households can take to cover child care expenses. Adequacy and accessibility of food benefits would be improved by basing food stamp benefits more closely on the full cost of the thrifty food plan, increasing the deduction allowed for those with excessive shelter costs, and updating the assets limitations to reflect inflation. Other provisions include expanding special treatment afforded disabled persons in the Food Stamp Program, expanding commodity assistance to certain low-income elderly persons, and allowing the homeless to receive food stamp benefits.

This legislation would improve program administration and accountability by requiring States to use information from the Internal Revenue Service [IRS] on unearned income of food stamp recipients, providing categorical eligibility for Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] and Supplemental Security Income [SSI] recipients, and increasing the penalties assessed on States with overpayment error rates in excess of 5 percent. Finally, this bill would improve nutrition education and hunger surveillance by providing funds to State cooperative extension offices to increase nutrition education activities for low income households, and by requiring the Department of Agriculture [USDA] to survey a representative sample of low income households when conducting various food consumption surveys.

One method Congress has taken to reduce the cost of our food assistance programs in recent years has been to tighten eligibility requirements. Many of the country's new hungry are those who lost their jobs during the recent recession. This new subgroup has exhausted their unemployment benefits, but have been unable to find new jobs

due to the changing job market. Often they have little or no income, but have too many assets to be eligible for Government assistance. I understand that my colleague from California, Mr. PANETTA, will be introducing an amendment which would set the value of certain automobiles which may be excluded from house hold assets in determining eligibility at \$4,500 for April 1985, increasing the allowable value to \$5,500 by 1987. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we are all aware of the unemployment and resulting difficulties that many in our districts face. We can no longer continue to reduce eligibility limits and cut food programs, and expect our Federal hunger programs to represent a solid safety net. We must mend some of the holes which we have worn in this net in recent years. H.R. 5151 is a reasonable and respected bipartisan compromise. I encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to carefully consider this legislation and oppose any amendment which would reduce its effectiveness.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make one other comment about a related matter. Congress has before it in both the Agriculture Committee and the Committee on Science and Technology another piece of legislation which would seek to make similar improvements in our nutrition, research, and monitoring programs.

The subcommittee of the Science Committee, on which I sit, reported that bill out earlier this week. It is my belief that the Committee on Agriculture would take similar action. It is a possibility that we can bring this legislation to the floor in the near future.

That bill, aimed at focusing our nutrition research and monitoring efforts more effectively would be an important complement to the bill that we are considering today and at such time as it may be brought to the floor, I would commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire how much time I have remaining?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is advised that he has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS].

Mr. DE LA GARZA. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee chairman and the ranking member.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 5151.

Two years ago, when we began the 98th session, we did so concerned

about the hunger in our land. We spoke of doing something to alleviate that hunger, which is nothing short of a national disgrace in our land of plenty.

Now is the time to deliver something more than words. Let's give our overwhelming approval to this legislation. Let's go home to our constituents, at this, almost the close of the 98th session, and tell them that we have done more about this issue than just talk, that we have acted to make sure that the truly needy do not go hungry.

We may not have acted quickly, but we have acted deliberately. The chairman and ranking Republican on the Nutrition Subcommittee, Mr. PANETTA and Mr. EMERSON, have done a thorough job on this bill. I do not agree with all they have done, but I cannot fault the thoughtful and deliberate fashion in which they have approached this issue and crafted this legislation.

There are a vast array of proposals for improving the food stamp program. The subcommittee and committee has sifted through these proposals in an effort to target aid where it is needed most. I am pleased that this bill incorporates several recommendations of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance.

For example, the bill adopts the task force's recommendation to raise the limit on the allowable value of an automobile, from the current \$4,500, set in 1977, to \$5,500. I want to point out to my colleagues that this figure is the fair market value of the car and not the equity value. In other words, we are not necessarily talking about an asset that can be liquidated to purchase food, either financially or practically.

There will be a lot of horror stories told about cars. But they are not typical. A poor family will not go out and buy a high-priced car. It cannot afford one, and could not finance one. The families who will benefit by this provision will be those who have recently lost their jobs and income, and are now forced to rely on food stamps. It strikes me as counterproductive to force these people to sell their automobiles, perhaps at a loss, thus depriving them of a means of finding work and resulting in no gain to the Federal Government.

The bill also makes reforms not contained in the task force's recommendations, but equally, if not more, important. The program's work incentives, shelter deduction, and State administrative flexibility are greatly improved. And the bill's nutritional monitoring may give us the information we need to further refine and coordinate our efforts.

Make no mistake about it, the Food Stamp Program is the backbone of our Federal feeding efforts. It is supplemented by special feeding programs

and commodity distribution, but the latter especially is an imperfect and uncertain means of meeting Americans' nutritional needs. A tremendous amount of commodities have been distributed recently, but we neither can nor should count on this distribution to take the place of food stamps. Government stocks of surplus dairy products are declining, and will very likely be in short supply in a year's time. Given the likely decrease in the distribution of cheese, butter, and powdered milk, I think it is especially appropriate that we should be moving forward with this legislation at this time.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues may have received a letter from the Office of Management and Budget which raises a number of questions about this bill. The criticisms outlined in this letter are unfounded. H.R. 5151 is not "a substantial retreat from toward the status quo ante of 1980," nor does it "reverse the 1981 Gramm-Latta Reconciliation Act reforms." It is a modest bill, which makes some significant reforms but all with an eye toward the budget.

The facts about the bill are as follows:

In dollar terms, the bill restores only about one-seventh of the large reductions made in the Food Stamp Program in 1981 and 1982. The Congressional Budget Office has estimated that legislative action in 1981 and 1982 reduced fiscal year 1985 food stamp spending by \$2.06 billion. This bill raises fiscal year 1985 food stamp spending by \$305 million—leaving over 85 percent of the original savings still in place.

Most of the major provisions in the bill come from the President's own Task Force on Food Assistance. The task force reported in January that it found hunger to be a "real and significant problem throughout our Nation." The task force recommended a number of modest food stamp increases to deal with this important problem. Those recommendations form the core of this bill.

In no way does this bill open the door to fraud, abuse, or error. Not a single one of the numerous antifraud or antiabuse provisions passed in 1979, 1980, 1981, or 1982 is repealed in this bill. In fact, the bill contains further toughening measures—substantially increasing fiscal penalties in States with error rates over 5 percent and tightening job search requirements.

The Office of Management and Budget has made several claims which I believe merit some clarification.

First, it has stated that the bill "would direct benefit increases to the highest income program beneficiaries."

This is not correct. The overwhelming bulk of the benefit increases would go to families living in poverty.

Just last month, USDA issued the results of a national food stamp survey which found that 95 percent of all food stamp households have gross incomes below the poverty line. The survey found that only 5 percent of recipients are above the poverty line and that they receive only 2 percent of program benefits. The facts are that no "high income" beneficiaries are left in the program. Households with gross incomes above 130 percent of the poverty line and net incomes above 100 percent of the poverty line are ineligible—such households were terminated under Gramm-Latta provisions that were enacted in 1981 and that are not changed or repealed by this bill.

The increased benefits in this bill come from provisions that are aimed to help poor families make it through the month without running out of food. The bill does not aid high income families or allow them into the program.

The OMB letter specifically claims that a provision to raise the earned income disregard from 18 percent to 20 percent of earnings expands benefits for "the highest income beneficiaries." In fact, this provision provides a very modest increase for all low income working families on the program, a group that was disproportionately affected by the 1981 changes and that is by and large quite poor. The survey USDA issued last month showed that working families on food stamps have average gross incomes of just \$6,500 a year—for an average family of 3.7 persons. This is several thousand dollars below the poverty line for families of three or four persons. Even for households at the poverty line, this provision provides a benefit increase of just \$5 a month, hardly an overgenerous windfall.

The OMB letter also mistakenly states that the work expenses of poor families have not risen—as a percentage of income—in recent years. A report issued by the Joint Committee on Taxation in April, however, shows that Federal tax burdens for families at the poverty line have more than doubled over the last 6 years as a percentage of income. This is one of the reasons this provision is needed.

Second, OMB argues that the bill increases the food stamp program's asset limit to a point higher than in most other public assistance programs.

In fact, \$2,250 is the assets limit in SSI, a fact noted by the President's task force when it called on the administration and the Congress to raise the limit to \$2,250 in food stamps as well. Food stamps has many households of four or more persons—and should not have lower assets limit for such households than SSI has for a household of two.

In recommending that the current food stamp assets limit be raised, the President's Task Force noted that the

current limit had been set in 1971 and never adjusted since despite inflation. The task force also found that legitimately needy households—particularly the unemployed—were being kept out of the program because the current limits had been eroded by inflation and were now too low. The increase recommended by the task force—and reflected in H.R. 5151—offsets less than one-third of the impact of inflation since 1971.

Third, OMB alleges that the bill would eliminate retrospective accounting and monthly reporting. This, too, is not correct. In 1981, Congress mandated that all States utilize monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting systems in the hopes this would reduce errors in the program. Since 1981, results from four major federally funded demonstration projects on monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting have become available. The result of these projects—which HHS and USDA spend some millions of dollars to conduct—show that contrary to earlier hopes, these systems do not save money and do not reduce errors but but do increase paperwork and administrative costs and do adversely affect some needy recipients. Over 30 States have asked the Congress to make use of these systems a State option rather than a mandatory Federal requirement, so that States can use the systems where they would be cost-effective, but dispense with them where they would not be.

H.R. 5151 adopts the States' suggestion. It does not eliminate use of monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting. Rather, it makes use of these systems a State option. Since other provisions of the bill would increase penalties on States for errors over 5 percent, the combined effect would be to intensify pressure on States to reduce error rates while giving them more flexibility to find the most effective management mechanisms to get the error rates down.

Fourth, OMB argues that the food stamp program has grown and adequately serves those in need. It points out that benefit payments rose 43 percent from 1980 to 1983.

Regarding the increase in benefit costs, OMB fails to say that all of the increase was due to inflation and unemployment. Unemployment averaged 6.8 percent in 1980 but soared to 10.1 percent in 1983. USDA itself noted last year that each 1 percent in unemployment adds 1 million persons to the program. In addition, Bureau of Labor Statistics data show that food prices were 15 percent higher in 1983 than in 1980. This accounts for the increase from 1980 to 1983.

Moreover, since 1983, food stamp costs have fallen. Costs in 1984 are several hundred million below 1983 levels—and OMB and CBO project that costs will drop further in 1985.

Finally, a major CBO study last year found that when inflation and unemployment are taken into account, food stamp spending has actually been reduced. CBO estimates that the cuts resulting from the 1981 and 1982 budget reductions amount to \$2 billion in fiscal year 1984 and to \$2.1 billion in fiscal year 1985.

Fifth, OMB points out that the program rose from \$550 million a year in fiscal 1970 to \$8.7 billion in fiscal year 1980, due to a fivefold expansion in eligibility.

In fact, income limits were lowered in 1977 and 1980, and national eligibility limits were actually more restrictive in 1980 than in 1970. The "fivefold expansion in eligibility" simply never occurred. Program costs did grow significantly, but this was for other reasons:

Food stamps was not yet a national program in 1970. Over 1,300 counties had no program in 1970—they all had instituted a program by 1980. In addition, Puerto Rico was not in the program in 1970, but had a very large program by 1980, Puerto Rico was subsequently removed from the program in 1982.

Food prices more than doubled from 1970 to 1980.

Unemployment rose in 1980 and was well above 1970 levels.

AFDC households (which constitute 40 percent of the food stamp caseload) were poorer in 1980 than in 1970 and consequently qualified for higher food stamp benefits. Both HHS and the Congressional Research Service have reported that AFDC benefits, adjusted for inflation, fell nearly 30 percent from 1970 to 1980.

And finally, OMB claims that while food price inflation rose by only 15 percent (from 1980 to 1983), average food stamp benefits per person rose by 25 percent.

This is misleading. The fact is that no families had their benefits raised more than inflation. Nearly all households in the program actually had their benefits reduced to some degree by legislative actions taken in 1981 and 1982.

It is true that average household benefits went up faster than inflation—although OMB conveniently stops its comparison in 1983. By mid-1984, inflation had almost caught up with average food stamp benefits. But this was not because of any food stamp benefit increases—rather it was simply because food stamp households became much poorer from 1980 to 1983 and therefore qualified for larger benefits, on average. USDA's own food stamp surveys show that the income of food stamp households dropped significantly during this period, after adjusting for inflation. Just from 1980 to 1982, the proportion of food stamp households with incomes below half

the poverty line rose from 49 to 59 percent. Part of this was due to budget cuts in other programs such as AFDC. These reductions lowered households' incomes and thereby pushed up their food stamp allotments. However, since every \$10 lost in another program resulted in only a \$3 increase in food stamps, these households still ended up poorer—and, in many cases, with less total resources for food. The increase in average food stamp benefits masks this fact of increased hardship.

In addition, the 1981 budget cuts eliminated from the food stamp program households with gross incomes over 130 percent of the poverty line. Since these households received smaller-than-average benefits, their removal from the program made the average benefit go up. This statistical change in the average benefit did not bring with it any actual increases in benefits for poorer households, however.

Mr. Chairman, this is a good bill. I ask my colleagues, on both sides of the aisle, to give it their overwhelming support.

Mr. TRAXLER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. I want to compliment the gentleman from California, the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition, Mr. PANETTA, for both introducing the bill and bringing it before the House in such a prompt and caring manner. I also want to thank Chairman DE LA GARZA and Mr. EMERSON, ranking Republican on the subcommittee.

This bill is not a giveaway, nor is it a waste of limited Federal dollars. It is merely a recognition of the fact of inflation.

I want to take a few moments to speak with my colleagues about a provision of this bill. Section 114 of this bill authorizes local agencies administering the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, at their discretion, to provide supplemental commodities to low-income elderly persons who may be eligible for such assistance. This provision is the culmination of efforts that have stretched over the past 4 years to provide nutritious food packages to senior citizens who are in need of assistance. The food assistance goes to senior citizens who are finding it difficult to obtain an adequate diet given their own economic condition, and the frustrations that they find with the existing structure of assistance programs. But even more importantly, this program, will provide a food package designed for the nutrition needs of senior citizens, with recognition for special dietary concerns, something no other feeding program does.

As part of the 1981 farm bill, the House Agriculture Committee was good enough to authorize the estab-

lishment of pilot sites for this program. The original sites were Detroit, MI, and Des Moines, IA. The list was later expanded to include New Orleans, LA.

These pilot sites have operated for 2 years now, and the response has been fantastic. Many participants who were interviewed about their experiences with the program, thought that it was among the best things that had ever happened to them. They found that it provided them with a better sense of self-sufficiency. While socialization is important for all of us, we all must remember that there are times when we all like to be in our own homes with a wholesome meal, especially on those days when weather and transportation make it most difficult for people to get to congregate meal sites, or to make the multiple trips necessary to get food stamps and then to get the food.

This program has operated at the lowest cost level of any Federal feeding program. The pilot sites are currently operating it at a little over \$10 per person per month. There are over 12,000 people on the waiting list of the Detroit program. New Orleans has increased the size of its program dramatically in recent months.

Mr. Chairman, we are trying to help people who are probably unable to help themselves. Let me describe some of the people served by this program: five out of six people on the program are women; one-third of the participants are age 75 or older; 40 percent are on food stamps; 34 percent are on Medicaid; 60 percent live alone; 60 percent are on Social Security; 18 percent are on both Social Security and SSI; 75 percent have a monthly income of less than \$400; 55 percent suffer from high blood pressure; 66 percent have arthritis; 37 percent have heart disease; and 22 percent have diabetes.

Certainly this group is not one which can claim an easy life.

Section 114 in this bill addresses this problem in a compassionate, tested, and accepted way. The food items purchased using USDA's bulk buying power will help needy people in a way they accept.

The fiscal 1985 agricultural appropriations bill adopted by the House well over 1 month ago provides some funds which would allow for a modest expansion of the senior citizen program, although at the time of our action, all we could do was safeguard the continued availability of this program for Detroit, Des Moines, and New Orleans, so that no senior citizen who is being served on September 30 need to worry about the program being discontinued on October 1. USDA told us at our hearings that these three cities could continue to operate so long as their funding lasted, and we provided more funds for these programs to continue.

Mr. Chairman, I know that there is no comparable provision in the bill currently in the other body. I know that USDA officials are not supportive of this program because they flatly refuse to consider new programs, unless they are consolidations of existing programs. The fact is that the current mix of programs, for whatever reason, is not providing sufficient assistance for a critical portion of our needy population. These people cannot afford to wait for us to make up our minds about how to reinvent the wheel. They need food now. I do not want to be melodramatic about it, but in the experience of one of the pilot program operators, Focus: HOPE in Detroit, MI, when they call to let someone on the waiting list know that a space is available, they sometimes learn that the person died while waiting to hear.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill, and the ability of senior citizens to obtain nutritious food packages as part of the Commodity Supplemental Food Program.

□ 1110

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG].

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

In response to rising concern about hunger in America, President Reagan, the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition, and various organizations initiated studies on its extent. Each one of the reports reflect that the problem of hunger is real, and action needs to be taken. I commend the subcommittee for taking the data and recommendations from these reports and incorporating them into the Hunger Relief Act. Most of the provisions in the bill are either specific recommendations of, or address concerns raised by, the President's Task Force on Food Assistance.

The bill would care for the hungry by increasing accessibility to food benefits. At the same time, it would increase work incentives to encourage food stamp recipients to become participants in the economic recovery. It would continue the fight against fraud and abuse by increasing program accountability. It would help recipients use their benefits more efficiently by increasing nutrition education. The bill also addresses the unique difficulties Alaska has in administering the Food Stamp Program in its rural areas.

We have a moral obligation to help alleviate the problem of hunger and we have the responsibility to keep

spending within budget constraints. The estimated cost of the bill is within spending targets established by the House-passed budget resolution for fiscal year 1985.

In my district, the State of Alaska, hunger in the remote areas is compounded by the fact that the current Food Stamp Program is not effectively helping the needy. Alaska has constantly struggled with the administration of the Food Stamp Program because unique geographical, cultural, and language and cost-of-living differences make it almost inoperable in the rural areas. The 9,040 food stamp recipients in rural Alaska are scattered throughout 200 remote villages contained in an area equivalent to the combined areas of California, Texas, New York, Maryland, and West Virginia. Most of these villages are accessible only by air or water. There are nearly 20 unrecorded languages as well as vast cultural differences between Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts.

Because of these situations, the household definition, monthly reporting, and retrospective budgeting are difficult to apply in rural Alaska. The current definition of household assumes a nuclear family living together year round. However, the reality of life in most of the remote Alaska villages is communal living with families dispersing or migrating for seasonal hunting and fishing. Monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting requirements are difficult to adhere to due to uncertain mail service, transportation difficulties, and language differences.

Typically, we associate shelter costs in rural areas to be lower than those in urban areas. This is not the case in rural Alaska where housing is limited and utility costs are extremely high. Similarly, the cost of vehicles in rural Alaska are far higher than the cost in more accessible areas. The current cost ceiling on shelter and the inclusion of vehicles, snow machines, and boats—all of which are used primarily for subsistence activities—in resource determination, are extremely detrimental to rural Alaska food stamp households. This bill recognizes and addresses the incompatibility of Alaska's unique circumstances and current Food Stamp Program requirements through the inclusion of the Rural Alaska Nutritional Assistance Program in this bill.

The Rural Alaska Nutritional Assistance Program is designed to allow the State maximum flexibility in administering the program to rural Alaska food stamp recipients. Under the bill, the State of Alaska would develop a plan to administer the program tailoring program requirements and benefits to cultural, geographical, language, and cost-of-living differentials.

The bill is designed as a no-cost bill. Alaska would be provided from funds

authorized for the Food Stamp Program a funding amount equal to the amount that would have been spent by the Department of Agriculture for operation of the Food Stamp Program in rural Alaska. The limited funding that the State will receive will insure efficient operation of the program without the need for excess regulation.

The bill states that the program meet "such reasonable requirements as the Secretary must, by regulation, prescribe for the purpose of assuring that assistance is provided to needy persons in the rural areas of the State." For the success of the program, it is intended that the current food stamp requirements cited previously the household definition, monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting procedures, the shelter cost ceiling, and what must be included in resource determination—not be required.

The Secretary shall approve or disapprove the State plan and oversee the accounting and the security of the program. In the event the Secretary disapproves the plan or the implementation of a plan, he can deny or withhold payments. Denial and withholding should be used as a last resort and only until the State complies. Denial should be used when there are major violations and withholding for lesser violations.

The flexibility afforded to the State of Alaska through this pilot project, will result in better service to Alaska's needy in rural Alaska.

Again, I commend the work of my colleagues on the subcommittee for their dedication to addressing the problem of hunger in America. The bill is a carefully drafted bipartisan compromise, one which we can all support.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, to conclude the debate this morning, I cannot express enough appreciation to the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from California [Mr. PANETTA], the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON], the ranking member, and the members of the subcommittee for the diligence, and the dedicated responsible and yet compassionate way in which they have addressed this issue.

I think that we bring to the House, as hopefully the House will agree, and as is the norm for our Committee on Agriculture, responsible legislation with as much bipartisan support as is possible and, yet, with respect for individual philosophy and individual concerns. We have worked diligently to bring this legislation to the floor.

As we proceed next week, I would hope that we will receive the support of the House.

I would like to make one point, Mr. Chairman, as we deal with hunger,

malnutrition, with scarcity, with lack of nutrition for many of our citizens—it never has been the fault of the farmer. It is not because of any fault of the producers in the United States of America. The food has been there.

The problem has been unemployment, underemployment, perhaps transportation, and distribution. But never the fault of the farmer. The people of the United States have the best quality food, for the lowest amount of disposable income per family, of any people in the world. The major problem is low income for many people or underemployment. But any hunger that exists is not the fault of the farmer who, by and large, produces—unfortunately, more often than not—at a return that is below what it costs him to produce.

So we are addressing an issue that is not in any way the fault of the farmer. It is due to something that went wrong in some other area.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DE LA GARZA. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY].

Mr. FOLEY. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I just take this time to rise in strong support of this legislation and to compliment the chairman of the full committee, the chairman of the subcommittee, and the subcommittee leadership on the other side of the aisle in bringing this legislation to the floor.

I hope and expect that it will have overwhelming support from the membership.

● Mr. CHAPPIE. Mr. Chairman, I signed the supplemental views in the report accompanying H.R. 5151 for the reason, among others, that it expresses the hope that the costs of this bill can be reduced during its consideration on the floor and that refers to a commitment made by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition that " * * * the spending levels set by the first concurrent budget resolution, yet to be adopted by the Congress, would not be exceeded by the cost of H.R. 5151."

With respect to the opportunities for cutting the costs of this bill, I am on record as supporting amendments offered in full committee by my colleagues, Mr. COLEMAN and Mr. EMERSON that in my opinion would have made this bill more acceptable to those of us in this body concerned about the size of the Federal Government deficits this Nation faces in fiscal years 1985 through 1987.

I commend my colleagues on the committee who expended considerable effort to reduce the costs of this bill from those estimated for the Food

Stamp Program portions of the bill at the time of its introduction. It was substantially improved in committee, but there are further opportunities for improving on the costs of this bill that I urge my colleagues in the House to support when they are offered on the floor today.

Turning next to the commitment not to exceed the spending levels set by the first concurrent budget resolution this issue has caused me some concern because of what I perceive as some ambiguity as it appeared to me based upon my reading of House Report No. 98-645 (Part 1, pp. 29-30) accompanying House Concurrent Resolution 282, the first concurrent resolution on the budget—fiscal year 1985.

It is noted that on page 29 of such report (H. Rept. No. 98-645, Part 1) there is created what has been referred to by some as a "pay-as-you-go pool" to provide real increases in domestic spending in fiscal years 1985 through 1987:

Although overall spending limits are necessary to achieve steady deficit reduction, there are some high priority Federal responsibilities which will require increases above the 3.5 percent limit. The recommendation therefore, allows a real increase for certain low-income programs, such as nutrition, food stamps, health, training, higher education for needy students including historically black colleges, and elementary and secondary education programs for handicapped and disadvantaged students. This would add \$2.85 billion over three years to the non-defense discretionary program category. This addition results in a net savings in non-defense discretionary programs of \$4.60 billion over three years.

The recommendation assumes a pay-as-you-go amendment which includes financing the real increases for these programs through an offsetting revenue increase.

The total amounts available for non-defense discretionary programs under the recommendation will be available for the Appropriations Committee to allocate among the individual non-defense discretionary programs.

Meanwhile, the Food Stamp Act of 1977 and the Agriculture and Food Act of 1981 capped Food Stamp Program authorizations for a number of years and it is assumed that the language in the Budget Committee Report (H. Rept. No. 98-645, Part 1, page 30) listing the Food Stamp Program as one of the fully funded entitlements was inadvertent and in error.

I would urge my colleagues in the House to insure during the consideration of H.R. 5151 on the floor that the additional costs provided in the bill continue to come within the capped authorizations and be scored as discretionary spending and that the spending limitations for fiscal years 1985 through 1987 comply strictly with the first concurrent budget resolution for fiscal year 1985 adopted by the Congress.

Having referred to the Food Stamp Act of 1977, I should caution my colleagues in the House that in June of

1977 the report (H. Rept. No. 95-464) accompanying H.R. 7940 hailed that bill, that ultimately went to conference and became law, as the reform solution to the Food Stamp Program for the foreseeable future:

The new Administration gave very high priority to food stamp reform, and early in this session the Administration forwarded a proposed bill to the Congress. The Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition promptly held hearings and reported an improved and strengthened bill to the full Committee. The full Committee has now completed action on the most comprehensive reform of the food stamp program since its inception as a pilot program in 1961.

A. REFORM OBJECTIVES

The Committee bill is a tightly inter-related package of provisions that accomplishes several major objectives:

1. To tighten program administration and reduce fraud and abuse.
2. To eliminate the non-needy from the program so that those who do not need food stamps do not get them.
3. To facilitate the participation of the needy so that those who do need stamps do get them.
4. To hold program costs close to current program levels.
5. To simplify administration.
6. To minimize the loss of benefits to current needy participants.

It is important to emphasize that legislation to accomplish those objectives in no way depends on subsequent welfare reform proposals. The food stamp program needs to be reformed, and it should be reformed regardless of the direction of welfare reform. The changes adopted by the Committee are needed to improve the effectiveness of this program and to correct current deficiencies.

The minority views in that report unfortunately correctly characterized and forecast that legislation as "reform" not "reform."

The new "income stamp" program set forth in this bill takes a giant step backward from, food stamp reform. H.R. 7940 in fact deforms, not reforms, USDA's largest program which has been riddled with abuse, error, and fraud.

We contend that the minimum standards of true reform, should include an improved system of dignified food aid to poor people, a cost reduction for taxpayers, administrative simplification, restored program integrity and public confidence that benefits will go only to those recipients who are truly in need.

This bill unfortunately repeals all the major restraints of the existing Food Stamp Act, replaces the 1964 statute with a host of new administrative complexities, does little to change benefits to controversial recipients, substantially increases the public's burden of paying for it, reduces the amount of money that poor people will spend on food, and sharply cuts farm income.

I mention the foregoing because in 1977 the Congressional Budget Office [CBO] provided the following cost estimate (H. Rept. No. 95-464 p. 464) for the Food Stamp Act of 1977:

COST ESTIMATE: BUDGET OBLIGATIONS AND OUTLAYS

(In millions of dollars)

	Fiscal year—				
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
FOOD STAMP PROGRAM ACCOUNT					
Current policy:					
Budget obligation	\$ 5,354.0	\$ 5,467.0	\$ 5,458.0	\$ 5,507.0
Outlay	\$ 5,145.0	\$ 5,466.0	\$ 5,455.0	\$ 5,505.0	215.0
Bill impact:					
Budget authority	-24.0	+144.0	+155.0	+120.0
Outlay	-23.0	+134.0	+158.0	+121.0	+5.0
Total after bill:					
Budget authority	\$ 5,330.0	\$ 5,611.0	\$ 5,613.0	\$ 5,627.0
Outlay	\$ 5,122.0	\$ 5,600.0	\$ 5,613.0	\$ 5,626.0	+220.0
FOOD DONATION ACCOUNT					
Current policy:					
Budget authority	24.3	25.7	27.1	28.4
Outlay	23.4	24.3	26.9	28.3	2.6
Bill impact:					
Budget authority	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Outlay	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	.1
Total after bill:					
Budget authority	26.0	27.4	28.8	30.1
Outlay	25.0	26.0	28.6	30.0	2.7

¹ Represents current outlays for fiscal year 1978 budget authority. Total outlays including prior period obligations is \$5,358,000,000.

What really happened after the so-called reform Food Stamp Act of 1977 was enacted that eliminated the purchase requirement, and so forth, can be seen from the following table constructed from information provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture on obligations since 1977:

FOOD STAMP GROWTH FROM 1977 ¹

Fiscal year	Authorization	Appropriation	Obligation
1978	\$5,847,600,000	\$5,618,381,000	\$5,546,041,000
1979 ²	\$6,778,900,000	6,670,278,000	6,868,900,000
1980	9,491,000,000	9,181,599,000	9,147,491,000
1981	*11,480,000,000	11,470,000,000	11,303,345,000
1982	*11,300,000,000	11,285,841,000	11,059,411,000
1983	12,874,000,000	11,989,688,000	11,837,702,000
1984	13,145,000,000	*11,722,914,000
1985	13,933,000,000

¹ Obligation amount obtained from USDA.

² Fiscal year 1979 includes \$337 million carryover from fiscal year 1978.

³ Amended by Public Law 96-58, section 1, 93 Stat. 389, Aug. 14, 1979, to change the amount authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1979, from \$6,158,900,000 to \$6,778,900,000.

⁴ Amended by Public Law 96-249, section 201, 94 Stat. 370, May 26, 1980, to reflect change in appropriations ceiling, increasing \$6,188,600,000 and \$6,235,900,000 to \$9,491,000,000 and \$9,739,276,000 respectively.

Further amended by Public Law 97-18, section 1, 95 Stat. 102, June 30, 1981, to delete "\$9,739,276,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$11,480,000,000".

⁵ Amended by Public Law 97-98, section 1331, 95 Stat. 1291, December 1981, to delete "and" after "September 30, 1980," and insert before the period at the end thereof the following: "; and not in excess of \$11,300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1982." Further amended by Public Law 97-253, section 183, 96 Stat. 785, Sept. 8, 1982, to add the figures for 1983, 1984, and 1985.

⁶ Appropriation for fiscal year 1984 estimated and includes \$700 million supplemental.

Based upon my concern for the miscalculations by CBO on the cost of the major rewrite of food stamp legislation in 1977, I requested the ranking member of the Budget Committee to obtain certain information on the cost of H.R. 5151 compared with spending limitations of the House-passed budget resolution.

I insert this exchange of correspondence in the RECORD because I believe it is revealing about: First, the lack of budgetary limits on food stamp spending; and second, the fact that CBO acknowledges that the cost estimate for H.R. 5151 "are based on economic and technical assumptions that are uncertain".

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET,
Washington, DC, May 14, 1984.

RUDOLPH G. PENNER,
Director, Congressional Budget Office.

DEAR RUDY: Congressman Gene Chappie has expressed concern over the food stamp authorization in H.R. 5151. Under the House passed budget resolution for FY 1985, certain discretionary accounts were subject to a "modified freeze" allowing 3.5% nominal growth in non-defense discretionary programs. Certain programs, however, were exempt from that freeze. On page 29 of the Report of H. Con. Res. 282, the food stamp program is listed as one of the low income programs exempted, and to which the Appropriations Committee would have the flexibility to add extra money. In toto, these exempted programs are not to receive more than \$2.85 billion.

However, on page 30 of the report, the food stamp program is again listed as an entitlement program, exempt from the entitlement freeze, and assumed to be fully funded over the next three years.

Apparently, the food stamp provisions in H.R. 5151 would raise the authorization for the program approximately \$900 million over the baseline levels for FY 1985-1987. I would like you to calculate the total authorization and outlay levels for the food stamp program under H.R. 5151, and the resulting annual growth in the program over FY 1984 estimated spending. In addition, I would like you to calculate what the spending totals would be for the food stamp program if the program were included in the 3.5% discretionary cap.

Furthermore, under the 1981 Omnibus Reconciliation Act, food stamp authorizations were capped. I would like to know if H.R. 5151 continues to cap spending, and if so, at what limits. If spending is capped, is H.R. 5151 scored as a discretionary program, and does it comply with the spending limitations of the House passed budget resolution? If the bill allows the food stamp program to technically become an entitlement program, is it permitted to spend more than the amount assumed in the budget resolution? Finally, I would like to know, in CBO's opinion, what would be the responsibility of the Appropriations Committee in funding this program under H.R. 5151.

Due to the expedited schedule for authorizations, H.R. 5151 is expected to be considered by the House shortly. I would therefore, appreciate a response as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

DELBERT L. LATTA.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, May 16, 1984.

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA,
Ranking Minority Member, Committee on
the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in response to your letter of May 14 concerning the food stamp authorization under H.R. 5151.

You asked about total authorization and outlay levels for the food stamp program under H.R. 5151 and the resulting annual growth in the program over fiscal year 1984 estimated spending. These estimates are shown below.

(By fiscal year, in millions of dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987
Baseline food stamp levels:				
Estimated authorization	12,076	11,788	12,635	13,066
Estimated outlays	12,119	11,792	12,626	13,062
Estimated change from H.R. 5151:				
Estimated authorization	0	306	458	228
Estimated outlays	0	305	457	227
Total assuming H.R. 5151:				
Estimated authorization	12,076	12,094	13,093	13,294
Estimated outlays	12,119	12,097	13,083	13,289

Assuming H.R. 5151, the estimated annual rate of growth of outlays between fiscal year 1984 and fiscal year 1987 is 3.1 percent. It should be noted that given spending to date in fiscal year 1984, the current CBO estimate may understate total 1984 food stamp spending. In addition, the 1985 through 1987 estimates are based on economic and technical assumptions that are uncertain. Food price increases through March 1984 indicate a larger increase in food stamp levels for October 1984 than has been assumed in the baseline estimates.

You also asked us to calculate what spending totals would be for the food stamp program if the program grew at 3.5 percent per year from 1984 to 1987. These estimates are shown below.

(By fiscal year, in millions of dollars)

	1984	1985	1986	1987
Food stamp spending assuming a 3.5 percent growth rate from 1984 through 1987:				
Authorization	12,076	12,499	12,936	13,389
Outlays	12,119	12,486	12,931	13,384

You asked about caps on food stamp authorizations in the 1981 Omnibus Reconciliation Act. The only authorization cap relating to food stamps in the 1981 Omnibus Reconciliation Act was a \$825 million limit on nutrition assistance to Puerto Rico. The Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1982, however, set authorization limits of \$12,874, \$13,145, and \$13,933 million in fiscal years 1983, 1984, and 1985, respectively. H.R. 5151 does not alter the authorization limits for fiscal years 1984 and 1985. The food stamp program is currently not authorized beyond fiscal year 1985.

You asked how spending in H.R. 5151 compares with the spending limitations of the House passed budget resolution. Since the resolution does not set limits by individual programs or accounts, but rather addresses overall spending limits, we are unable to compare the resolution totals for food stamps alone to spending under H.R. 5151.

Finally, you asked about the scoring of H.R. 5151 and the responsibility of the Appropriations Committee in funding this program. Currently, food stamp spending is considered discretionary for scorekeeping purposes by the House and Senate Budget and Appropriations Committees. H.R. 5151 does not alter the discretionary nature of the spending. For this reason, CBO does not score food stamp spending until appropriations are made for the program.

Attached for your information is a copy of our cost estimate for H.R. 5151, as ordered reported by the Committee on Agriculture.

Sincerely,

RUDOLPH G. PENNER,
Director.

After the enactment of the "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981", Public

Law 97-35, the table above indicates that the cost of the Food Stamp Program stabilized (during the period of fiscal year 1981-84) while handling increased demands on the program during the recent recession.

Statistics now clearly indicate that a strong recovery is underway. Why must we now reverse and repeal the only effectiveness that has ever been introduced into the Food Stamp Program—the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981.

At a time when everyone in this body is wringing their hands about Federal deficits, why must we address yesterdays problems by adding to the deficit with new spending added to existing programs?

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget sees the need to keep spending under control, and as noted in the copy of his letter reprinted below, states unequivocally that he will recommend to the President that "he disapprove it", should it reach the President's desk. I would join Mr. Stockman in urging that the Gramm-Latta repealers be eliminated from this bill.

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,
Washington, DC, July 24, 1984.

DEAR REPUBLICAN MEMBER: When the Foods Stamp Amendments of 1984, H.R. 5151, come to the floor, you will have the opportunity to make a clearcut choice in favor of spending restraint.

The need to keep spending under control has never been clearer. Yet the Agriculture Committee's proposed Food Stamp add-ons would:

Repeal important reforms achieved in the 1981 Gramm-Latta reconciliation bill.

Expand Food Stamp spending by \$1.1 billion over the next three years; and

Direct benefit increases to the highest-income program beneficiaries.

Repeal of hard-won reforms: In 1981, the Congress finally responded to the pleas of its constituents to do something about the abuses plaguing the Food Stamp program. Through a variety of changes, such as insisting on using actual, rather than "projected" income to determine eligibility, the 1981 Reconciliation Act had the effect of restricting eligibility to those whose need was greatest.

Despite these changes, the 1981-1982 recession showed that the "safety net" character of the Food Stamp program remained intact. As needs rose, participation rose from 19.3 million to 21.6 million, and benefit payments rose by 43% between 1980 and 1983. In fact, while food price inflation rose by only 15% during that period, average Food Stamp benefits per person rose by 25%. By any reasonable measure, current Food Stamp rules are providing generous support to low-income families nationwide.

The Committee, however, proposes to ignore this successful history, and recommends a substantial retreat toward the status quo ante of 1980. The Committee bill would:

Eliminate retrospective accounting, going back to the pre-Gramm-Latta system where benefit levels and eligibility determinations are based on the claimant's prediction about what his next-month's income is likely to be;

Raising income disregards back to the pre-Gramm-Latta 20% level, expanding benefits for the highest-income beneficiaries with earnings.

Increase the asset limits to \$2,250. Since these asset limits don't apply to the value of a home, personal belongings, or an automobile, it would mean that families with sub-

stantial cash in the bank could nevertheless qualify for substantial Food Stamp benefits.

We can't return to the abuses of the past. In all, the Committee's bill is an open invitation to return to the program abuses of the 1970's, when the Food Stamp program rose from \$550 million a year in FY 1970 to \$8.7 billion in FY 1980, due to a five-fold expansion in eligibility.

The impetus for the 1981 reforms came from constituents fed up with Food Stamp program abuses. Quite apart from the obvious fiscal threat, it would be totally irresponsible to surrender the 1981 reforms.

For this reason, were H.R. 5151 to reach the President's desk in its present form, I would recommend that he disapprove it.

I hope you will do everything in your power to amend this legislation to eliminate the Gramm-Latta repealers. If this effort fails, I urge you to join the Administration in opposing the bill on final passage.

Sincerely,

DAVID A. STOCKMAN.

H.R. 5151—FOOD STAMP ADD-ONS

1. The Administration strongly opposes enactment of H.R. 5151:

H.R. 5151 creates massive new spending at a time when both houses of Congress are working to bring the deficit under control. The bill would cost \$311 million in FY 85 and \$1.1 billion in FY 85-87 relative to current services.

The bill would reverse the 1981 Gramm-Latta Reconciliation Act reforms of Food Stamps which targeted assistance on the neediest households.

If the bill were to reach the President's desk, it could not be recommended for approval in its present form.

2. The bill repeals several 1981 reforms:

H.R. 5151 would eliminate the current requirement for Food Stamp monthly reporting and retrospective accounting.

Households with frequent income changes would no longer be required to report actual income but would instead make uncertain predictions of future income.

Monthly reporting in essence is already optional since USDA has permitted States to target the procedure on only 25% of the most error-prone caseload to assure its cost-effectiveness.

The bill would reverse the 1981 reform which reduced the earned income deduction from 20 to 18%.

Congress initially reduced the deduction because of evidence that work expenses represented only 15% of earned income. More recent information shows little change in this ratio.

3. Other provisions in H.R. 5151 reverse our 1981 efforts to target assistance more directly to a household's needs.

The bill provides for allotment increases over and above the current annual inflation adjustments. These unjustified add-ons would cost \$485 million over three years.

The bill increases the Food Stamp program's asset limit to \$2,250—higher than the limit in most other public assistance programs. For example, the current AFDC asset limit is \$1,000. A recent GAO report urged that the asset tests of these two programs be made more comparable to simplify administration.

The current assets limits are not burdensome especially since a family's house, most of its cars and its personal belongings are exempt.

4. Current law already provides ample assistance to households in need:

Since 1980, Federal food program spending has increased by 38%—from \$14 billion in 1980 to \$19.4 billion in 1983.

This Administration has initiated the direct distribution of free USDA surplus commodities to needy households at a cost of over \$1 billion a year.

There has been dramatic growth in the Food Stamp program since 1980. Food Stamp spending rose 43% between 1980 and 1983 while participation increased from 19.3 million to 21.6 million during that same time period.

Average Food Stamp benefits per person have increased by 25% since 1980 while food inflation has increased only 15%. ●

● Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. If passed, this legislation would bring long-overdue reform to the Food Stamp Program.

The proposed increase in the shelter allowance is particularly welcome. This figure has not been adjusted since 1975, although the cost of housing has soared during that time. As a result, two-thirds of the welfare recipients in New York State now pay more in rent than they receive in grants. Money that these needy families could have spent on food or clothing goes instead to their landlords.

H.R. 5151 would raise the shelter allowance from the present \$125 a month to \$155 a month. Over 338,000 households in New York City alone would benefit from this change.

Mr. Chairman, this bill also covers a segment of our population that is, unfortunately, growing—a group that is often overlooked when public-assistance legislation is drafted. I am speaking about the homeless, whose problems go beyond a meager shelter allowance or an insistent landlord. Each day is another ordeal for them, as they fight hunger, rejection, the weather, and perhaps their own delirium.

For the homeless, food stamps are critical. Their very survival may hinge on them. The homeless have heretofore been excluded from the program solely because they have no permanent address. The group most needing our support and compassion has, by their very definition, been barred from receiving our help. The homeless have thus been forced to rely on the efforts of voluntary, religious, and municipal agencies, fostering a dependency that further demeans and discourages them. They must eat what they're told, when they're told, and where they're told.

Think of the misery of the family that has fallen on hard times. The unemployed parents now have to line up their children to get fed, in a dreary procession of ragged, sullen, and sometimes surly people. Does this environment promote self-reliance or family togetherness, values which the Reagan administration pretends to champion?

The Hunger Relief Act, which the President typically opposes, would help reverse this alarming trend. If the homeless were able to obtain food aid directly and individually, without waiting for intermediaries to respond, they could devote more of their time and energy to finding a job and a permanent place of shelter. The bill provides food stamps precisely in this just manner, so long as applicants meet all the other eligibility requirements.

In the past, Mr. Chairman, the lack of a fixed address has in some States prevented the homeless from qualifying for the program. This regulation was based on the assumption that there was no way of getting the stamps into the right hands, and that fraud would be rampant. But social service and advocacy groups know better. For years, they have argued that shelters or churches could serve as distribution centers. I am happy that the distinguished members of the Agriculture Committee have seen the wisdom and integrity of this arrangement. I trust that the rest of the House will join in the wisdom of their judgment.

For the poor, food stamps are the first line—often the only line—of defense against hunger. Food stamps also represent the best and most comprehensive effort of the Federal Government to stave off malnutrition. Why should a child be denied these benefits merely because the parent happens to be homeless? Is that child, that family, any less needy than the poor persons lucky enough to have a roof over their heads? Of course not.

I therefore urge my colleagues to join me in enthusiastically voting for H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984.

Thank you. ●

● Mr. SUNIA. Mr. Chairman, I am proud to join my fellow colleagues in the Pacific region in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984.

Provisions for the Food Stamp Program serve a worthy cause to the needy and low-income households, to the elderly and disabled, to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and SSI, with coupons redeemable for food. Food stamps supplement the food-purchasing power of these low-income households in order to ensure that they are able to afford a nutritionally adequate low-cost diet, as determined by the Agriculture Department's thrifty food plan.

This program would also permit the homeless to receive the benefits. Allowances are also made for those recipients who are employed or face high housing and utility costs, and increases the value of assets that food stamp recipients are allowed to hold. More so, this piece of legislation would require that States implement expanded job search requirements.

Poverty and hunger in the United States have increased. This brings the need and demand for emergency food assistance. It not only covers the traditionally considered poor, but also those who have just recently become unemployed. These individuals often face the problem of having little or no income but too many assets to be eligible for assistance from the government.

America and its territories promote freedom, equality, and opportunity, and I believe that no American should experience hunger in this land of plenty.●

● Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Chairman, the bill which we are considering today, H.R. 5151 attempts to balance the benefit needs of food stamp recipients with the desire to maintain a cost effective system. On the one hand, I think we all agree that assisting the truly needy is worthy and that we can be proud of the Food Stamp Program in this regard. However, on the other hand, I think most of us also agree that, to the greatest extent possible, we should guarantee that the funds allocated to this program are well monitored and responsibly managed.

The burden of recordkeeping, quality control, and general administration of the Food Stamp Program falls on the States. The States are required under the Food Stamp Act to have quality control systems to identify the types of errors being made and to quantify the losses attributable to each type. This has been required since fiscal 1981, with error rate results compiled and reported for 6-month periods. Payments to ineligible persons are monitored to provide information for devising corrective actions to reduce erroneously issued benefits. They also serve as the basis for establishing State or Federal financial liability for excessively erroneous payments.

Managers in private industry have long employed quality control systems to help assure that services meet certain standards. This systematic means to assist businesses, if applied to the Food Stamp Program, should help State and local administrators monitor and control the accuracy of payments to program clients. I know the State of Illinois is grateful for the quality control program. The Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service uses a corrective action process to encourage States to solve program problems. The States are required to make reviews to identify problems in State and local operations and to develop and implement corrective plans. This involves setting target dates and measuring changes in overissuances or payments to ineligible persons. Among the major problems have been certification errors in determining eligibility and benefits.

Holding States accountable for their Food Stamp Program deficiencies has made States put more emphasis on carrying out corrective actions. The prospect of losing some Federal funds has prompted some top level State and local officials to give increased attention to improving their programs. Perhaps even more of an incentive, according to a GAO report of May 30, 1984, has been the adverse publicity which accompanies any sanctions issued against States for high error rates.

H.R. 5151 increases the sanctions against States for error in determining and distributing benefit payments. Currently, States are sanctioned at 5 percent of their federally funded administrative costs for each percentage point their rate exceeds 9 percent for fiscal 1983, 7 percent for fiscal 1984, and 5 percent for fiscal 1985. This bill provides that sanctions would be based on total issuances rather than administrative costs, making States liable for the full value of overissued food stamp benefits beyond a 5-percent error threshold. States have justifiably opposed this measure, since it could more than double the average financial penalty States would have to pay for errors after fiscal year 1985. Although I think this is a severe measure, it is a strong statement of congressional concern about quality control in the Food Stamp Program.

Nonetheless, if we are sincerely concerned about assurances that the benefits of this program reach the truly needy, the use of penalties will solve only part of the problem. What really needs to be addressed is the quality control mechanism. And, as the recent GAO report points out, each State has its own set of problems and corrective action plans must be designed to address the particular set of circumstances for each particular State. Therefore, the Federal regulations must allow a wide range of options in solving their overpayment problems.

I believe that provision in this bill which makes mandatory reporting and retrospective accounting optional is necessary in light of these stringent error rate requirements. Too frequently States are charged with not caring how they handle Federal money. And, the adverse publicity which accompanies even one finding of fraud in the food stamp program deepens this perception. Perhaps some States are sloppy with Federal funds; perhaps some of them don't have the necessary information and management systems to adequately monitor this program.

But most of the States have made great progress over the past 3 years. Illinois has improved its error rate by 40 percent and the agency-caused budgeting errors dropped 75 percent.

However, Illinois has indicated that monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting does not help quality con-

trol. Results from a demonstration project showed that payment error rates were about the same in both the conventional and monthly reporting groups, contrary to expectations. Unfortunately, the current law makes monthly reporting mandatory, even though in Illinois they found that it led to increased costs due to accompanying paperwork and it was less responsible to recipient needs.

If we are going to penalize the States for errors, we should allow them to choose the tools which will help them to bring down their error rates. This bill will permit States to determine whether or not monthly reporting and retrospective budgeting will decrease overissuances. Any attempt to remove this section of the legislation will just make it harder for States to provide the best service possible to food stamp recipients. Rather than increasing the regulations binding the administration of this program, the Federal Government must improve its quality control assistance efforts. States don't need more requirements, they need assistance with quality control reviews, access to better information processing equipment, fraud detection systems, and worker education.

During the Agriculture Committee markup of this bill, Members discussed this problem at length. I think there was a general consensus that the quality control system could be improved and that the error rate calculations have not been adequately defined. Therefore, the committee approved an amendment I offered to H.R. 5151, which requires a report from the Secretary by April 1, 1985, about the quality control system effectiveness and the methods used for calculating the error rates. I have received assurances from the chairman of the subcommittee, the author of this bill, that prior to reauthorization of the Food Stamp Program next year, we will gather information from the States, the Federal Government, and other involved parties as to the efficacy of the current quality control system. He has agreed to further debate about the error rate system, and I think that any actions taken next year will be based on the best information possible.

But, for now we need to pass H.R. 5151. This bill will increase the benefits by changing the formula for the cost of the thrifty food plan. It streamlines the eligibility process by making households with AFDC or SSI recipients automatically eligible. It raises the deductions for earned income as a work incentive. It repeals mandatory monthly reporting and retrospective accounting.

The Food Stamp Program operation is vital. The program has continued to provide food assistance to the Nation's needy since it was established by the

Food Stamp Act in 1984. I think we have suffered some set backs in this program over the past few years, but this bill helps to overcome some of these deficiencies. I agree that there are some problems, especially in regards to sanctions against States, but I also think that these will be successfully addressed at another time.

This is a bipartisan effort; let's keep it intact.●

● Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. This is a limited attempt by this body to respond to the alarming presence of poverty and hunger in the United States. This legislation seeks to address one of the cities in our midst, a city of hunger and desperation such as described by Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York in his depiction of our Nation as a "Tale of Two Cities."

H.R. 5151, most importantly, would increase benefits for food stamp recipients by basing maximum benefits in fiscal year 1985 on 100 percent of the Thrifty Food Program. Benefits would subsequently be based on 101 percent of the Thrifty Food Program in fiscal year 1986, returning to 100 percent of the Thrifty Food Program in fiscal year 1987. This benefit increase is a response to the cruel budget cuts contained in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 which reduced food stamp benefits in fiscal year 1982 through fiscal year 1985 by holding benefits to 99 percent of the Agriculture Department's thrifty food plan.

This measure also expands eligibility to include the many homeless who meet other eligibility standards required to receive food stamps. Additionally, the Hunger Relief Act provides for automatic coverage for recipients of Aid to Families With Dependent Children and recipients of SSI.

Mr. Chairman, we need to pass this bill if our Government is to pass the moral test in terms of how it affects the young, the elderly, the handicapped, and the needy. Relief organizations in the District of Columbia continue to indicate to me that hunger is getting worse.

The Congress in reducing the Food Stamp Program made a mistake. More than 1 million beneficiaries lost their eligibility when we reduced the Food Stamp Program by 13 percent in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982.

The Food Stamp Program, as it is presently constituted, based on the inadequate Thrifty Food Program, barely provides subsistence or affected families. The Hunger Relief Act is a small beginning in the long walk we will have to take if we are to really have one Nation and not a continuing "Tale of Two Cities."

I urge my colleagues to pass H.R. 5151.●

● Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 5151, the Hunger Relief Act of 1984. The legislation has been reported to the floor with bipartisan support and I share the distinguished chairman's view that this bill is a responsive and responsible approach to addressing the problem of hunger in the United States.

Once again, the country is indebted to the leadership of Chairman DE LA GARZA, Subcommittee Chairman LEON PANETTA and the distinguished ranking minority member, BILL EMERSON, of Mr. PANETTA's Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition.

On the national level, this legislation recognizes that the problem of hunger is a continuing one and the national Food Stamp Program must constantly be modified and tightened to meet changing national needs. The legislation before us takes steps to increase work incentives for food program participants, helps provide for adequate food program benefits and increases nutrition education efforts.

As Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, I endorse this legislation.

I wish to point out, however, that Puerto Rico has a separate nutritional assistance block grant to meet our island's nutritional needs. Our island program was continued at the close of the first session of the 98th Congress under the terms of a fixed block grant which, unlike the provisions in the legislation before us, does not have a cost-of-living or inflationary increase to meet the higher costs of living and annually adjust our level block grant.

I believe this is a problem that the U.S. Congress should address at some future point. But, at the same time, I commend the gentlemen who once again have exercised their leadership and continuing diligence in reporting this responsible compromise to the House floor to help citizens of the U.S. mainland.

The less affluent in this country, and those who count on the Food Stamp Program as the most visible Federal presence in helping provide families adequate nourishment, once again have had their needs met by the provisions of H.R. 5151.

I urge its prompt and speedy passage.●

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

□ 1117

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. BROWN of California] having assumed the chair, Mr. TORRES, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 5151) to alleviate hunger in the United States by strengthening Federal nutrition pro-

grams, had come to no resolution thereon.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill just considered, H.R. 5151.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. LOEFFLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. LOEFFLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this 1 minute in order to ascertain the schedule for the remainder of the week and for next week.

I am happy to yield to the distinguished majority whip, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY], for whatever information he might be able to bring to us.

Mr. FOLEY. I thank the acting Republican leader for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this concludes the business for today and for the week.

It will be my intention shortly to ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourn today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

At that time, the House will meet at noon and consider under suspension of the rules nine bills.

Prior to that there will be a special District Calendar, permission for which has already been granted.

The bills under suspension of the rules are:

H.R. 5946, Conservation Service Report Act of 1984; House Resolution 555, Senate of House disapproving the appointment of Ms. Burford as Chairman of NOAA; H.R. 6013, Small Business Act amendments; H.R. 5799, employment security for veterans in certain Civil Service positions; H.R. 5846, Crime Fine Enforcement Act of 1984; H.R. 5910, to amend title 18, United States Code, regarding contraband in prisons; H.R. 5872, Financial Bribery and Fraud Act of 1984; H.R. 5526, to amend title 18, United States Code, regarding escape from custody resulting from civil commitment; and H.R. 5919, Foreign Evidence Rules Amendment Act of 1984.

□ 1120

Any votes ordered on suspensions considered on Monday will be postponed until the last item of legislative business on Tuesday, July 31.

In addition, on Monday, July 30, the House will consider H.R. 3987, to improve the preservation and management of Federal records, an open rule, and 1 hour of general debate only will

be completed on Monday. The rule has already been adopted.

On Tuesday, July 31, the House will meet at noon. No bills are currently listed on the Suspension Calendar but, as I said, votes that have been postponed from Monday will be taken at the end of the legislative day.

The House will consider H.R. 5983, Interior Appropriations Act, 1985; we will complete consideration of H.R. 5151, the bill on which we have had debate today; H.R. 5290, the Compassionate Pain Relief Act.

It was announced yesterday by the chairman of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct that he will bring up on Tuesday a privileged resolution in the matter of Representative HANSEN.

On Wednesday, August 1, the House will meet at 10 a.m. and consider the Labor-HHS appropriations for fiscal year 1985; the supplemental appropriations bill; and H.R. 3987, to improve the preservation and management of Federal records, completing consideration.

On Thursday and the balance of the week the House will meet at 10 a.m. and will consider H.R. 5399, the intelligence authorizations, a modified open rule with 1 hour of debate; H.R. 5921, the Transportation appropriations for fiscal year 1985; H.R. 5244, the Department of Energy civilian research authorizations for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987, an open rule, with 1 hour of debate, the rules already having been adopted; H.R. 5602, the health professions and services amendments, an open rule with 1 hour of debate; and H.R. 5585, the Railroad Safety Act, subject to a rule being granted.

Mr. LOEFFLER. I wonder if the distinguished majority whip might give us some further enlightenment as to what point in the day on Tuesday the leadership believes the privileged resolution coming out of the Ethics Committee might be before the House.

Mr. FOLEY. I am not able to advise the gentleman on the precise time of day. The position of the leadership with respect to resolutions of this kind from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct is that are privileged, and the chairman will be recognized at any time he seeks recognition for the purpose of bringing up this resolution.

The chairman made the statement that he would seek recognition on Tuesday, but I am not aware at what time during the day he may do so.

Mr. LOEFFLER. But from the standpoint of the schedule, there is no question that the privileged resolution will come before this body on Tuesday next?

Mr. FOLEY. Yes. The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STOKES], made that announcement in the House yesterday.

Mr. LOEFFLER. I wonder if the distinguished majority whip might give us any idea if in fact we will have votes on Friday next, or if we might find ourselves in the same position that we find ourselves in on this Friday.

Mr. FOLEY. I am not sure what the intention will be regarding Friday. I think that if we complete the schedule by Thursday we will probably not meet on Friday next or we may have a session with a similar schedule as the session today. But it is a rather heavy schedule, and I think Members at this time should plan on a Friday session next week.

Mr. LOEFFLER. According to what the distinguished majority whip has brought to us today, it is then my understanding that on Tuesday, once we complete all legislative business, which means whatever we get through, the privileged resolution, the Interior appropriations bill, the Hunger Relief Act, the Compassionate Pain Relief Act, it will be at that time that we will then have the votes on whatever suspensions may require recorded votes which will roll over to Tuesday from Monday's debate; is that correct?

Mr. FOLEY. That is correct. And any suspensions that could possibly be scheduled for Tuesday.

Mr. LOEFFLER. And we would have votes at an earlier time on other legislative matters, such as the Interior appropriations bill, the Hunger Relief Act, the Compassionate Pain Relief Act?

Mr. FOLEY. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. LOEFFLER. I thank the distinguished majority whip.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, JULY 30, 1984

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at noon on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. TORRES]. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

THE 1983 ANNUAL REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERV- ICES, AND OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH REVIEW COMMISSION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

(For message, see proceedings of the Senate of today, Friday, July 27, 1984.)

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CAMPBELL] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I took this time today, while the House is empty, just to read into the RECORD and to let the American people know something that has come to my attention that is extremely important.

One of the most important things that the American people can have is confidence in their Government. I represent an area of the country that manufactures textiles. In the textile industry there has been a loss of jobs for the last several years that has threatened to disrupt the entire industry. There has been an awful lot of discussion about what to do about it and what was the cause of it. Today it has come to my attention that in 1980 the Government of the United States, under the Carter-Mondale administration, entered into a secret agreement with the People's Republic of China on textiles. The result of that secret agreement, which was not a part of the public bilateral agreement, was that the amount of textiles coming into the United States from China tripled in the 3-year period. That displaced about 100,000 American workers from their jobs.

We had to find out about this agreement by using the Freedom of Information Act to force it from the State Department, and it was not until this week, an effort was started to find out about it, after we heard about it 7 or 8 months ago, that in fact the secret letter was given to us, the secret letter was sent to Mr. Roboz, who is the chairman and chief executive officer of Stanwood Corp. And I would like to read that letter for the American people so that they might know what has happened to one of the industries because of secret agreements of the Carter-Mondale administration with Communist China to encourage trade. This letter is to the Ambassador of the

People's Republic of China and it is from the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, Mr. H. Reiter Webb, Jr., who at that time was the chief negotiator for textile matters for the Carter-Mondale administration.

□ 1130

It is technical in terms in many instances, but we should remember before I read it that China is neither a party to nor is entitled to any of the general protections that exist under the general agreements on tariffs and trade of the multifiber agreement, thereunder, which governs textile trade in this country.

As I read this letter, it becomes very clear what that administration tried to do, and as I get to the end of it, they even say that they are going to hold them harmless if in any circumstances they have to take an action against China.

The letter reads:

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: As agreed during the discussions leading to a bilateral textile trade agreement between our two nations, I wish to clarify the views and intentions of my government as regards implementation of paragraph 8 (the consultative mechanism) of the agreement.

That is the area of the agreement that can be used to stop illegal or subsidized or extra goods from coming in the country that disrupt our marketplace. The letter goes on:

Our two governments recognize that textile trade between our two countries has only recently been reestablished and that the prospects of the trade and the current status of trade between our two countries should be taken into account.

Accordingly, consultations as envisioned under the consultative mechanism of this agreement shall not be requested without reference to factors and criteria as contained in Annex A of the GATT Multi-Fiber Arrangement (MFA). A written statement will be supplied promptly which will include data similar to that contemplated in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Annex A of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement.

Hence, unless there are unforeseen circumstances to the contrary, the Government of the United States of America would not envision requesting consultations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on a category not already subject to a specific limit before imports from China in the category of categories concerned have reached the levels already established by comparable, important, capable suppliers.

Those that were in treaty agreement with us:

By this it is meant that the Government of the United States would use the consultation clause sparingly and would not request the Government of the People's Republic of China to limit its exports or categories concerned without having full regard both to the equitable treatment of the Government of the People's Republic of China as compared with other such suppliers of like textile and apparel products and, as appropriate, to the Government of the People's Republic of China's position as a new entrant to the United States' market, with respect to products not already subject to specific

limits. Further, the Government of the United States of America will give full consideration to the factors indicated above.

It is also recognized that the established public policy of the Government of the United States of America is to provide as much information and opportunity as practicable for the growth and development of trade in textiles to all its bilateral agreement suppliers, consistent equally with the United States need to avoid disruption of its domestic market or the threat thereof. The Government of the People's Republic of China, therefore, has the assurances of the Government of the United States of America that resort to these consultation procedures shall be on a fair and equitable basis vis-a-vis other bilateral agreement suppliers, taking into account the position of the People's Republic of China as recognized above.

If recourse to the provisions of paragraph 8(c) would result in actual injury to production and marketing of textile products from China and/or would have actual impact on goods which have been or are about to be shipped, the Government of the United States will undertake to alleviate the adverse effects.

Now, that is a secret letter that an agreement given to the Chinese outside of the normal, bilateral negotiation which was public, which in essence gives them all the protections that we would have with any other trading party, and also, in the very end, essentially agrees to hold them harmless, if, in fact, we had to take any action.

The result of that was this: The result was that we doubled the amount of square yard equivalent coming from the People's Republic of China in 18 months, and darn near broke part of the textile industry in this country. It was only in late 1982 that we really began to issue the calls and tried to break this agreement, even though at that time we were not sure it existed.

As a matter of fact, in 1980 and 1981, under the Carter-Mondale administration they issued only six calls against all of the products from the People's Republic of China dealing with textiles. Since 1981, we have at this date issued some 44 calls against China trying to stop what had already taken place. But what has happened is that during this period of time, over 2 billion square yard equivalent have been shipped to this country. That is a disruption in the marketplace of almost 200,000 American jobs, because you lose about 100,000 American jobs for every billion square yards of imports.

That is an interesting figure when we stop and realize that an administration of this Government went into a secret agreement that caused a disruption in our domestic industry and the people of this country did not know about it even though they were losing their jobs.

That is of great concern to me. It is of so much concern to me that I have been involved in all of the negotiations trying to slow down some of the shipments and get some order in the trade.

Not to put up a protectionist barrier, but to put up a fair trade situation so that we can in fact deal in an orderly manner.

I believe that we have made some progress, but I believe the damage was done so badly that we might never recover because of the actions of that last administration. The fact is that in the agreement that they negotiated and publicized, they only covered 36.3 percent of what China was shipping at that time. We have renegotiated that agreement, and we are now covering under agreement 77.7 percent of their products, but that is not enough yet. We have issued calls that now allow us to cover even more. The fact is that they had allowed this to take place and the tremendous surge to come into our marketplace and even though this administration froze the shipments, and then tried to negotiate a new agreement, the damage was done and the ability to undo was limited.

The people of the United States need to know exactly how that damage took place. I should hope that there will not be other secret agreements that disrupt the marketplace of the United States of America. We have to trade with other countries; we should trade with other countries. We should have as open and free and fair a trade as possible, but how in the world can you trade with a controlled society that pays its people about 21 cents an hour; that is run by the Government; that is subsidized by the Government, and then have your own Government, your own Government give to that government special privileges to throw the American people out of work. How can you call that free or fair trade? It is absolutely unconscionable. I hope that somehow out on the campaign trail, that Mr. Mondale talks about jobs in America, because I think it is time that we address some of the things that took place.

I hope that if there are other secret agreements, that we are able to uncover them, and I hope that when we do uncover them, that we will be able to undo some of them if they are causing the steel workers or the textile workers or any other workers in America to be thrown out of their jobs, not by fair or free trade, but by secret agreements with controlled societies paying slave wages. I do not think it is anything America can stand for.

□ 1140

TRIBUTE TO JOSEPH D. KEENAN, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER EMERITUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Joseph Daniel Keenan, whose death on July 22, was a tremendous loss to the labor movement, the city of Chicago, and all people of our country.

Joseph Keenan's career as a labor official spanned over 70 years, and our country has truly lost one of its finest leaders, whose life was devoted to the betterment of the lives of all working people.

The eldest of eight children, Joseph Keenan was born on Chicago's Near West Side on November 5, 1895. At age 12, he left elementary school, to support his family when his father was injured in a work-related accident. Shortly thereafter, he was invited to join the Ladies Straw & Felt Hat Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor, and in 1914 Joseph Keenan joined Electricians' Local 134 in Chicago. He was elected inspector of the local in 1923, and served as its recording secretary from 1929 to 1954.

In 1931, Joseph Keenan was appointed as plant electrical engineer for the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, and through his outstanding union activities, he gained the attention of officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor, where he was elected recording and corresponding secretary in 1937.

With the outbreak of World War II, Mr. Keenan came to Washington, and served our country with distinction as the American Federation of Labor's representative on the National Defense Advisory Committee. He eventually became the labor vice chairman of the War Production Board, where he played a crucial role in reaching agreements that helped to stabilize industrial relations in the construction industry, and to halt strikes and work stoppages, while arbitration agreements were being reached.

At the end of World War II, Joseph Keenan went to Europe to help reestablish the industries devastated from the war. The Army made him a brigadier general, and from 1945 to 1947, he toured Europe as an adviser to General Lucius D. Clay, the American military commander in post-war Germany, in order to rebuild the trade unions there. In 1947, he served as President Truman's special coordinator between labor and industry in the American zone in Germany.

From 1951 to 1954, Mr. Keenan served as the first secretary of the building and construction trades department of the American Federation of Labor, and became the international secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1954, a post he held until 1976. He was the first director of the League of Political Education, the forerunner of COPE of the AFL-CIO, and as a vice

president of the AFL-CIO for nearly four decades, he worked closely with George Meany, helping him to merge the two rival trade groups in 1962.

Mr. Keenan was a strong force in the Democratic Party, and was close friend and adviser of Chicago mayors, Democratic Presidents, and Presidential candidates. He played a key role in President Truman's upset victory over Governor Dewey in 1948, and he served as labor's campaign liaison with Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and Presidential candidates, Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, and George McGovern.

In addition to his career in labor, Joseph Keenan was active in many civic, religious, and community activities. He was a supporter of the Loyola Retreat Center, and CARR, a national Catholic research center. In 1974, he received an honorary doctorate from Catholic University, and in recognition of his many services to his church and country, Pope Paul VI bestowed upon him the Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice Award.

Joseph Keenan was a strong supporter of civil rights, and received the Civil Rights Award from the Anti-Defamation League. President Truman awarded him the Medal of Freedom and the Medal of Merit, because of his dedicated service to our country. He was a highly respected member of the community, and a leader of outstanding abilities, dedicated to the highest standards. His devotion to human improvement and human compassion, and his efforts on behalf of working people, will long be remembered.

Mrs. Annunzio and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Jeffie, and the other members of his family who survive him.●

INTERIOR-ENERGY SUBSTITUTE FOR INDIAN HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENT ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL] is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 15, 1984, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Committee on Energy and Commerce favorably reported the bill, H.R. 4567, reauthorizing and amending the Indian Health Care Improvement Act. The Interior Committee reported the bill with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The Energy Committee reported the bill with sundry amendments. As reported, the two committee versions were substantially different and generated considerable controversy.

In the interest of facilitating an early passage of this most important legislation, the two committees, after long negotiations, have arrived at a compromise substitute bill which in-

corporates the agreements resolving these differences. While I am not totally satisfied with all the provisions of this new substitute, I believe it is still very good legislation which will result in significant improvement in the health status of our Indian citizens. It is my intention to strongly support this new bill on the floor of the House through conference to enactment.

I have written to Chairman PEPPER of the Rules Committee requesting an early hearing on a rule for this bill which would make the new bill original text for purpose of consideration and amendment in the House. I hope that we can schedule this bill, which authorizes appropriations for fiscal year 1985, for early action in the House. At a later time, I will submit a statement more fully explaining the background and provisions of this compromise bill.

I am introducing this bill on behalf of Congressman WAXMAN, chairman of the Energy Subcommittee on Health and the Environment and on behalf of several of the original cosponsors of H.R. 4567. I would like to take this opportunity to commend Mr. WAXMAN and his subcommittee staff for their work on this legislation and the cooperation my committee has received in working out this compromise.

I would urge all members to support this new legislation.●

CONRAIL SALE RAISES QUESTIONS

(Mr. EDGAR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDGAR. Mr. Speaker, along with 17 of our colleagues, I sent a letter yesterday to Chairman JIM FLORIO of the Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Transportation, Commerce, and Tourism, requesting a delay of at least 1 year in final congressional action on the sale of Conrail.

Conrail has become a tremendous success story since its sale was first proposed by Transportation Secretary Lewis 3 years ago. The railroad is expected to report profits of half a billion dollars this year. Yet the Department of Transportation is hurrying to sell the railroad. Announcement of a successful bid, originally scheduled for this fall, may occur as early as next week. Haste seems even less necessary in light of reports that an outside evaluation has found that Conrail's worth is approximately \$800 million more than the current \$1.2 billion asking price. Why, then, the rush to sell? Along with other Members, I believe that more time is needed before the sale to allow Congress, the States, and

the public affected by the sale an opportunity to thoroughly examine the economic and public interest issues at stake.

Specifically, in yesterday's letter we called for increased information about:

The intentions of the current bidders toward future rail service to the Northeast-Midwest region;

The fate of service contracts currently in force;

The sale's effect on transportation competition in the region; and

The repair of "orphan bridges" and other neglected maintenance in the Conrail system.

We are not necessarily hostile to the sale of Conrail or to the efforts of the Department of Transportation. However, we do feel strongly that sale of Conrail, in which the Federal Government has invested so much, should not take place precipitously.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I would like to enter into the RECORD the letter to Mr. FLORIO and a letter regarding the sale sent to Transportation Secretary Dole by Pennsylvania Gov. Dick Thornburgh. After examining these documents, I urge my colleagues to contact Chairman FLORIO to express their concern about this issue and join the call for reasoned, careful consideration of the Conrail sale. The letters follow:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, July 25, 1984.

HON. JAMES J. FLORIO,
Chairman, House Energy and Commerce,
Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation, and Tourism, Rayburn House
Office Building.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is to inform you of the deep concern which we feel about the process which is now being followed by the U.S. Department of Transportation to sell the Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail). A number of questions have been raised about the sale procedure, and the public interest stakes are extremely high.

In this atmosphere we believe it is vitally important that Congress, the states, and the public affected by the proposed sale of Conrail be given an adequate opportunity to examine the proposed sale. Since your subcommittee will have primary legislative responsibility for examining the sale, we ask your support for a moratorium of at least one year on any final sale of Conrail. This period of time should afford us an opportunity to thoroughly examine the economic and public interest issues at stake in the Conrail sale.

The regional economy of the fifteen states currently served by Conrail's 14,200 track miles is vitally dependent on adequate rail transportation service. The future health of the economy of the Northeast-Midwest region is precarious. Our region is currently recovering from Depression-era levels of unemployment. The regional economy needs time to heal and recover, yet a change of Conrail ownership and service could require major economic adjustments and risk serious curtailment of rail service in the region.

The legislative calendar of the current session of Congress is too crowded with other important matters to allow careful, rational consideration of the issues raised by the Conrail sale before the November election.

By deciding, at this point, that we will take at least a year to examine the sale, we give ourselves time to address the following points:

1. What are the intentions of the current bidders to purchase Conrail? What are the plans of these private sector corporations for future rail service for the Northeast-Midwest region? Despite the federal investment of approximately \$7 billion to preserve regional rail service, we have no assurance that this service will be preserved following the sale of the railroad.

2. What will be the fate of service contracts in force today on Conrail lines? Will they be cancelled? Will rates increase? The shippers in our region need answers to these questions.

3. Will service patterns be the same after the sale? The Department of Transportation has announced that service patterns are one of the criteria being examined in their review of bids, but we do not know the weight given to this criterion which is the most vital to the future economic health of our region.

4. Are trackage rights of other carriers being protected? Will the sale foster transportation competition in the region or hamper competition? Again, these questions are vital to the future economic health of the Northeast and Midwest.

5. Will the prospective purchasers assume all of Conrail's contractual obligations?

6. What about the "orphan bridges" and other deferred and neglected infrastructure maintenance along the Conrail system? The federal government has made massive investments to improve this infrastructure already. Will these improvements be maintained and continued by a new owner or neglected as they have been in the past by previous private sector owners of the railroad?

The key issue which we must examine is whether the public interest and public investment in preserving rail service and economic progress in the Northeast-Midwest region will be enhanced or negated by the sale of Conrail to a private sector owner. We must determine whether preservation of economic progress in the region is the goal of the sale or merely subordinate to the amount of money being offered for the railroad or some other consideration. The process being followed by the Department of Transportation has effectively prevented Congress and the public from examining these issues related to the sale of Conrail thus far. We must take the initiative. We must clearly state our intention to examine these issues thoroughly in order to prevent a hasty and destructive auctioning off of the railroad.

Conrail management has performed admirably in recent years in making the government-owned system both profitable and valuable in providing a vital service to the regional economy. Businesses in our region can now depend on rail service, but a sale now is certain to bring uncertainty and risk the economic recovery of our region. We ask that any final decision on the sale be delayed in order to ensure careful examination of all the issues that have been raised.

Sincerely,

Jim Oberstar, Bob Edgar, Thomas M. Foglietta, Bob Borski, William J. Coyne, Richard Ottinger, Parren J. Mitchell, William D. Ford, Berkley Bedell, Louis Stokes, Jack Kemp, Frank Horton, James J. Howard, William H. Gray III, Bruce A. Morrison, Austin Murphey, Jim Moody, Don J. Pease.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Harrisburg, July 16, 1984.

HON. ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE,
Secretary of Transportation, U.S. Department of Transportation, Washington, DC.

DEAR SECRETARY DOLE: I appreciate your efforts to keep me informed of your plans concerning the sale of Conrail, and wish to take this opportunity to convey some views which I regard as critical if Conrail is to be returned to the private sector at this time.

As you know, Conrail is vital to the economic well-being of Pennsylvania and the whole Northeastern region which it serves. Conrail is the key element in a revitalized Northeastern transportation system. Through its investment of millions of dollars in industrial development and equipment purchases and payment of local taxes, Conrail is also stimulating economic growth throughout the Northeast. Last year alone in Pennsylvania, Conrail accounted for nearly two-thirds of all Class I railroad mileage in the state and was responsible for:

Employment of over 15,000 workers including 4,500 workers at its corporate headquarters in Philadelphia.

Plant investment of nearly \$1 billion as part of a major industrial development program which helped produce 34 new industries.

The purchase of \$133 million worth of goods and services.

Track rehabilitation expenditures of nearly \$67 million.

Payment of over \$3.6 million in taxes to local governments.

Shipping for export over two million tons of coal through the Pier 124 complex in Philadelphia; this facility was recently expanded and modernized through an innovative partnership involving the Commonwealth and Conrail.

These significant contributions represent a great accomplishment by Conrail's management and workers in turning this once bankrupt railroad into a highly profitable venture.

While I indeed support the public interest criteria to guide any sale of Conrail which you set forth in your letter of April 20, 1984, I believe that Conrail's performance in meeting our economic and transportation needs must be the benchmark against which all private sector proposals are measured. Private bids should be evaluated on the basis of their potential to meet or exceed the performance of Conrail in Pennsylvania and the Northeast.

Conrail has pared its system and plant and workforce and has used the provisions of rail deregulation to maximum advantage in becoming flexible to changing market conditions, which has led to its current profitability. A decade of railroad reorganization has at last brought the Northeast a strong rail system on which business can depend. Pennsylvanians do not want to see this strength lost through a sale.

We are adamantly opposed to any sale of the federal interest in Conrail that could jeopardize the rail freight services and economic development initiatives which Conrail now provides to Pennsylvania and the entire Northeast along with the jobs which result from these efforts.

Accordingly, I urge your consideration of the following principles in your deliberations:

If Conrail is to be placed in the private sector, it must result in a strong railroad which will continue to enhance economic

development and preserve jobs in the Northeast. This can be accomplished only if any buyer preserves service to the states and shippers as now provided by Conrail, and continues to promote vigorously industrial development within the region as Conrail is now doing.

The Federal Railroad Administration should not consider any sale other than one that maintains Conrail as a single entity. This is needed to preserve the existing Conrail mainline system and protect the public investment in its properties and rebuilt infrastructure which constitutes an important portion of the national transportation system. Railroads and shippers in all regions of the nation would be adversely affected by actions to dismember the Conrail system or defer its maintenance.

It would be far better for Conrail to remain under current management than to initiate a premature sale that would not serve Pennsylvania and the Northeast as well as the existing system or allow adequate time to fully assess the consequences.

It would be troubling indeed if a sale of Conrail at this time merely resulted in the turning of a quick profit by a purchaser selling the newly acquired Conrail properties rather than maintaining a strong rail carrier in the Northeast.

I am particularly concerned about the recommendation by CSX, one of the current bidders, that you permit the carving up of Conrail among various other railroads. This idea clearly runs counter to our fundamental need to preserve a strong carrier in the Northeast.

I urge you to evaluate the various offers based on the principles I have set forth regarding freight service, economic development and jobs. Moreover, there should be a clear intent on the part of the bidder to maintain and utilize the existing infrastructure, including the coal shipping facility at Pier 124, which is so vital to our economic interest.

Your efforts to involve the states in this process are highly commendable and greatly appreciated. As Governor of the state that could be most affected by the outcome of the deliberations on the sale of Conrail, I hope that we can continue to be heard as this process unfolds.

Sincerely,

DICK THORNBURGH,
Governor.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. NEAL (at the request of Mr. WRIGHT), for July 26 and 27, on account of illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mrs. MARTIN of Illinois) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. CAMPBELL, for 60 minutes, today.

(The following Members at the request of Mr. FOLEY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. GONZALEZ, for 60 minutes, today.
Mr. UDALL, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. TRAXLER, immediately following the remarks of Mr. JEFFORDS, today in the Committee of the Whole, on H.R. 5151.

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. MARTIN of Illinois) and to including extraneous matter:)

Mr. FRENZEL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FOLEY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. WHEAT.

Mr. MRAZEK.

Mr. LEVINE of California.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 40 minutes a.m.), the House adjourned until Monday, July 30, 1984, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3801. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller, Administration), transmitting notification that the Department of the Air Force intends to exclude the "Examination of Records by Comptroller General" clause from contracts with the Omani government, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2313(c); to the Committee on Armed Services.

3802. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting a report on price and availability estimates provided to foreign countries, and requests received for Letters of Offer for the quarter ending June 30, 1984, pursuant to AECA, section 28 (93 Stat. 708; 95 Stat. 1520; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3803. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Election Commission, transmitting a copy of proposed regulations governing access to Public Disclosure Division documents, pursuant to Public Law 92-225, section 311(d) (93 Stat. 1354, 1362); to the Committee on House Administration.

3804. A letter from the U.S. Trade Representative, transmitting a report on the impact of U.S. implementation of the international Government Procurement Code on labor surplus areas, pursuant to 19 U.S.C. 2516(b), E.O. 12260, section 1-201; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3805. A letter from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting notification of a delay in submitting a final Mission Plan relating to the disposal of radioactive waste, pursuant to Public Law 97-425, section 301(b)(3); jointly, to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MITCHELL: Committee on Small Business. H.R. 6013. A bill to amend the Small Business Act; with amendments (Rept. No. 98-914). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House in the State of the Union.

Mr. ALBOSTA: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H.R. 5799. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to establish certain requirements for the procurement by contract of certain services that are reserved for performance by preference eligibles in the competitive service; with amendments (Rept. No. 98-915). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House in the State of the Union.

Mr. WHITTEN: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 6040. A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 98-916). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House in the State of the Union.

SUBSEQUENT ACTION ON A BILL INITIALLY REFERRED UNDER TIME LIMITATION

Under clause 5 of rule X, the following action was taken by the Speaker:

Consideration of H.R. 5640 by the Committee on Public Works and Transportation extended for an additional period ending not later than July 31, 1984.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. UDALL (for himself, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. McCAIN, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. VENTO, and Mr. HUNTER):

H.R. 6039. A bill to reauthorize and amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, and for other purposes; jointly, to the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs and Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. RAHALL:

H.J. Res. 630. Joint resolution to designate the week beginning February 3, 1985, as "National School Guidance and Counseling Week"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 4447: Mr. FORD of Tennessee and Mr. DASCHLE.

H.R. 4571: Mr. GREGG.

H.R. 4832: Mr. DYMALLY and Mr. PENNY.

H.R. 5140: Mrs. BOXER.

H.R. 5875: Mr. BATES.

H.R. 5893: Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. BEDELL, Mr. DOWDY of Mississippi, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. MARTINEZ, and Mr. BERMAN.

H.J. Res. 580: Mr. FUQUA and Mr. CROCKETT.

H.J. Res. 589: Mr. CHANDLER, Mr. ECKART, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. ALBOSTA, Mr. SYNAR, Mr. WISE, Mr. WYLIE, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. O'BRIEN, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Mr. CLAY, and Mr. McDADE.

H. Con. Res. 325: Mr. KEMP, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. HANSEN of Utah, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, and Mr. BLILEY.

H. Res. 555: Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut, Mr. SYNAR, Mr. SMITH of Florida, Mr. LELAND, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. DOWNEY of New York, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. RODINO, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. TOWNS, Mr.

CLARKE, Mr. FOGLIETTA, Mrs. JOHNSON, Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. ALBOSTA, Mr. BOSCO, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. ORTIZ, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. LEVINE of California, Mr. CARPER, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. BARNES, Mr. LaFALCE, Mr. MINETA, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. WEISS, Mr. WHEAT, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. BATES, Mr. BONIOR of Michigan, Mr. BEILSON, Mr. McHUGH, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. MAVROULES, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. RATCHFORD, and Mr. WEAVER.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

400. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the National Association of State and Territorial Apprenticeship Directors, Loudonville, NY, relative to various resolutions adopted by the Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference delegates at their 40th annual convention in May; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

401. Also, petition of the National Association of State and Territorial Apprenticeship Directors, Loudonville, NY, relative to a resolution adopted by the 1984 Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference on Federal taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FUNDING FOR THE B-1 BOMBER

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sun recently carried an editorial by Jeffrey Record, an expert on military reform issues, which made a compelling case for funding of the B-1 bomber.

In his article, Mr. Record explains clearly why production of the B-1 is needed to replace our obsolescent B-52 bombers as a strategic weapon as well as the role the B-1 would play in protecting U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf and other areas of the world.

I commend this insightful and informative article to my colleagues:

THE CASE FOR THE B-1

(By Jeffrey Record)

WASHINGTON.—Sometime next September, the first of 100 copies of the controversial B-1 bomber will roll off an assembly line in California. Cancelled by President Carter in 1977 but revived by the Reagan administration in 1981, the B-1 continues to draw fire from critics on the grounds that the bomber cannot carry out its principal mission—namely, penetrate the Soviet Union's heavily defended airspace and reach its targets in the middle of a nuclear war. Opponents of the plane have denounced it as a costly (\$200 million apiece) white elephant and condemned it as poor alternative to the visionary follow-on "Stealth" bomber, an aircraft to be fabricated from revolutionary new materials which are supposed to render it invisible to Soviet radar.

The question of whether the B-1 can carry out its primary mission cannot be answered conclusively short of the definitive test of war. But there is as yet no compelling evidence that it can't. The effectiveness of Soviet air defenses has been exaggerated. Moreover, a number of features of the B-1, including its ability to fly very low at supersonic speeds, its modern electronic jamming and deception gear and its tiny radar cross section (about 1 percent that of the aging B-52), make it an extremely elusive target. On at least two occasions during the past decade, Korean commercial airliners possessing none of these attributes managed to wander around Soviet airspace for hours before finally being found and shot down.

Finally, the "Stealth" bomber, which is still on the drawing board, is neither a timely nor a legitimate alternative to the B-1. The "Stealth" is plagued by many, as yet unresolved, technological problems which, even if solved, could delay its introduction until long after the last B-52 died of old age—thus leaving the United States for a time without any bomber force at all.

The real case for the B-1, however, lies in the improbability that the plane, any more than its predecessor, the B-52, will ever be used in nuclear anger against the Soviet

Union. The nuclear stalemate that has deterred war between the superpowers for the past quarter of a century is likely to persist. In all likelihood, there will be no need to employ the B-1 in its primary mission.

To put it another way, given the improbability of a nuclear war with the Soviet Union and the persistence of non-nuclear conflicts that have engaged, and threaten in the future to engage, the United States, the B-1's potential non-nuclear applications ought to command as much attention in weighing the real value of the plane as its claimed strategic attributes. Unfortunately, the debate over the B-1 has since its inception been based by supporters and critics alike largely on strategic criteria—this despite the fact that since the dawn of the nuclear age the United States has been involved exclusively in non-nuclear wars against opponents other than the Soviet Union. These wars, it should be noted, have employed so-called strategic bombers, from B-29s in Korea to B-52s in Vietnam, for non-nuclear missions.

Indeed, given America's myriad and far-flung security interests, it would be difficult to make a case for any long-range bomber costing \$200 million that could not be effectively used in wars other than the single and highly improbable nuclear conflict the plane might be designed to deter. (A major argument against the "Stealth" is its comparative worthlessness in non-nuclear combat).

Fortunately, those who designed the B-1 designed an aircraft that could prove very useful in any number of conventional conflicts, especially conflicts in such difficult to reach places as the Persian Gulf and elsewhere in the Third World where the United States does not enjoy, as it does in Europe and Korea, secure military access in peacetime. For example, the unrefueled range of the B-1, which is substantially greater than that of the B-52, permits it to strike targets in the Persian Gulf directly from the United States, thereby eliminating dependence on bases en route or in the area of hostilities.

No less impressive is what the B-1 can carry in the way of non-nuclear munitions; although the plane is smaller than the B-52, it can carry up to 128 500-pound conventional gravity bombs, compared to only 51 for the B-52. This means that relatively few B-1s would be needed to deliver devastating attacks on such targets as air bases, supply column bottlenecks and even exposed formations of tanks and mechanized infantry.

Additionally, the B-1's speed, again greater than that of the B-52, permits rapid responses to distant and unexpected violent crises. Although no substitute for carrier-based fighter bombers, the B-1, with its far longer range independence of aircraft carriers that might or might not be in the right place at the right time, is an ideal complement to a Rapid Deployment Force whose ability to get to the disputed ground in the Gulf first and with the most has yet to be demonstrated.

The range, payload and speed of the B-1 make it no less ideal for other non-strategic missions, such as maritime surveillance and fleet air defense. Capable of in-flight refuel-

ing and of carrying air-to-air and air-to-surface missiles, B-1s on maritime missions could provide U.S. naval forces additional reconnaissance and striking power that might be decisive in a violent show-down with the growing Soviet fleet.

All of this raises the question of whether 100 B-1s will be enough to provide adequate nuclear deterrence while at the same time fully exploiting the bomber's enormous non-strategic potential. It is worth noting that the Air Force originally sought to buy 244 of the bombers—and that the cost per plane beyond those now slated for purchase is expected to decline to less than \$100 million.

To continue to treat the B-1 solely or even primarily as a means of deterring nuclear war is to focus on preventing the improbable at the expense of preparing for the likely.

Mr. Record, a consultant and writer, comments on military affairs for The Sun.●

WORLD MONEY SYSTEM

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, in response to one of the Wall Street Journal's typical editorials urging a return to a fixed exchange world money system, Mr. Gottfried Haberler of the American Enterprise Institute has written an interesting, and compelling rebuttal which was published in the Journal on July 25.

The Haberler letter, written with unusual clarity and simplicity, is self-explanatory. It puts the problem into the perspective of recent economic history, pointing out that in the Depression of the 1930's it was the rigidity of a fixed standard—gold—that caused the catastrophic contraction of world trade.

The net, net, net of the Haberler thesis is there is no substitute for fiscal discipline if the United States wishes a steady recovery, a stable dollar, and a low rate of inflation.

Quick fixes and magic wands work well for editorialists but not in the real economic world.

The article follows:

FLOATING RATES BUOY THE WORLD MONEY SYSTEM

I agree with you (editorial "Fix What Broke," July 11) that "the ideal international monetary arrangement would be one-money world" and that "a world money obviously remains visionary." I also agree that the Bretton Woods system "helped to bring about a generation of economic progress and order the world had seen seldom before." But the reason for its success was that it provided for orderly changes of ex-

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.

change rates of which there were many before the system collapsed in the early 1970s.

I also agree that the Bretton Woods system was practically a dollar standard and that it got into trouble when inflation raised its ugly head in the U.S. That happened in the middle 1960s, when the Johnson administration financed the escalating war in Vietnam and the equally expensive Great Society programs by bank credit instead of by raising taxes. The crucial fact was that some countries, primarily West Germany, Japan and Switzerland, refused to accept the inflation that a fixed exchange rate with the dollar would have imposed on them. Thus, the dollar depreciated sharply vis-a-vis the currencies of the three countries. This is highlighted by the fact that even after its recent sharp rise the dollar is still well below what it was in 1970.

It is not true that floating caused world inflation. U.S. and world inflation forced floating on reluctant policymakers.

I agree that "the foreign exchange markets, threatening the collapse of the dollar, forced the Carter administration to reverse its policies with the appointment of Paul Volcker as Fed chairman." But I would add that this proves that floating has a strong disciplinary effect. Under floating a decline of the currency in the foreign exchange market is a strong inducement to tighten up—just as strong as, or perhaps stronger than, declining reserves under fixed exchanges.

Contrary to what you suggest, in the 1930s the trouble was not floating. In that deflationary period, it was the rigidity of the gold standard that caused the catastrophic contraction of world trade. The terrific deflation, in turn, was the consequence of horrendous policy mistakes, acts of omission and commission, on the part of the Fed.

Reflect what would happen under fixed exchanges in a situation like the present one, characterized by high interest rates and vigorous expansion in the U.S. which attract large capital flows from other parts of the world. The other industrial countries would suffer heavy losses of international reserves and would be put under a strong deflationary pressure. If the pressure cannot be released by changes in exchange rates, those countries would be driven to impose quotas on imports and exchange controls with catastrophic consequences for world trade. That is exactly what happened in the 1930s. Such a situation cannot be handled with fixed exchanges.

I therefore cannot agree that the time has come for another Bretton Woods conference "to fix what broke." The agreement in 1943 was possible because at that time the U.S. and the U.K. ran the show. Their plans were sufficiently close to reach an agreement on a joint proposal. This time around there are many industrial and semi-industrial countries with different views. For example, socialist France was one of the first to urge a new Bretton Woods conference. France's ideas are greatly different from ours. In addition there are the less developed countries which have organized themselves in very vocal pressure groups. It is inconceivable that such a heterogeneous assembly could reach an agreement even on a less controversial subject than setting up a new Bretton Woods type arrangement, let alone on restoration of the gold standard.

Time shouldn't be wasted on trying to set up a new Bretton Woods system let alone the gold standard. Floating is here to stay. But there are also areas of exchange stabili-

ty. Many countries peg their currencies to the dollar and others to the D-mark or the yen.

It is imperative that the U.S. continue to keep inflation at bay and there is plenty to do for the IMF to help countries to put their financial house in order, to maintain equilibrium in their balance of payments without exchange controls either with floating rates or fixed rates if they choose to peg their currency to the dollar. We should concentrate on that job and not waste time and energy on utopian schemes.

GOTTFRIED HABERLER,
American Enterprise Institute,
Washington. ●

CONSCIENCE VIGIL FOR SOVIET JEWRY

HON. ROBERT J. MRAZEK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, "The Congressional Call to Conscience Vigil for Soviet Jewry" reminds us all of the sufferings of so many men and women unable to determine their own destiny or to live with their families in the place of their choosing. I'd like to take this opportunity to extend my thanks to this year's chairman, the Honorable LAWRENCE COUGHLIN, for organizing this important demonstration of support for Soviet Jews.

At present, there are over 400,000 Soviet Jews who desperately want to emigrate but who are repeatedly denied their freedom. I wish to address my remarks to the case of Victor Brailovsky, a prisoner of conscience who, over the past dozen years, has weathered isolation, condemnation, ostracism, and repeated denials of the freedom he and his wife Irina so desperately need. The plight of Victor and Irina Brailovsky represents but one frustratingly sad story amidst vast numbers of fellow refuseniks imprisoned behind the intolerance of Soviet policy. Yet it is precisely the case of one or two which spurs us to feel the pain, respect the courage, and work for the freedom for all Soviet Jews.

Over the past several years I have personally corresponded with Victor and Irina Brailovsky. Their history, the cause of Victor's imprisonment, and the hardship of his 5-year sentence seem so alien to us as Americans. Yet since Victor and his wife Irina Brailovsky first applied for exit visas in 1972, the Soviet leadership has continually taken away any personal freedoms the Brailovskys could have as Soviet Jews. Both Victor and Irina have been continually denied exit visas due to the Government's allegation that Irina had had access to secret information as a computer scientist at Moscow University. Coupled with this, Victor was fired from his job, isolated from telephone and mail

service, and put under constant KGB surveillance.

Despite avowed threats from the KGB, Victor continued to work against blatant discrimination and mistreatment by publishing a novel on the conditions of Soviet Jews. Victor was arrested for this, but not sentenced. In 1980, Victor was again arrested for his participation in an appeal to President Brezhnev demanding exit visas for all refuseniks—237 other refuseniks also signed the letter. This time, Victor was convicted and sentenced to 5 years of internal exile for what the Soviets labeled fabrications aimed at defaming the Soviet Union.

This past March, Victor returned to Moscow after serving his full 5-year term in isolation. He has been given permission to remain in Moscow and it has been suggested to him that he can obtain a job, but only on the condition that he have absolutely no contact with foreigners. Since Victor has a brother in Israel, and many concerned friends in the United States, this condition is unacceptable to him.

I have recently received a letter from a fellow New Yorker, Dr. German Shapiro, who has news of the Brailovskys from Moscow. Thankfully they are both in good physical health. However, I cannot duly emphasize the emotional strains a refusenik family must bear in face of constant harassment and social ostracism. The letter also conveys a sense of underlying fear for Victor, as he must find a job sometime this month or face arrest for parasitism. In addition, the Brailovskys' latest application for visas has been denied due to a mere technicality. This comes as very disturbing news, for it portrays a government bent on complicating the family's attempt to leave on any grounds.

Such a policy of restrictive emigration and active discrimination must not go unchallenged. While I appeal for Victor Brailovsky and his family, I am also speaking for the hundreds of thousands who yearn to leave the Soviet Union. As long as the voices of these brave men and women are silenced to the outside world, we in Congress must work even harder to improve their situation in the Soviet Union, and prospects for emigration.

The congressional show of support in this year's Call to Conscience Vigil exemplifies the great concern we in Congress have for the worsening situation in the Soviet Union. Our coordinated efforts will ensure that the Soviet leadership never underestimates the resolve of the American people to work for freedom in all countries. An appeal to human rights will not be heard however, if this administration and the Soviet leadership continues the current freeze of communication. We must call on both the

President of the United States and the Secretary General of the Soviet Union to open dialog between our two countries so that our plea can be heard.●

CONCERN FOR FAMILY PLANNING

HON. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring the following article, by Georgie Anne Geyer, to the attention of my colleagues. The article appeared in the Chicago Sun Times on June 26, 1984. The article discusses the U.S. position on population and development to be presented before the International Population Conference in Mexico City this August 6-13. Our delegation may take a position, unprecedented for the United States, against providing family planning services to certain less developed nations of the world. As a result of this new policy, possibly \$100 million of the more than \$200 million that now goes to family planning services in the less developed world would be curtailed. Mr. Speaker, Ms. Geyer has traveled the world over for the past 25 years, and is particularly an expert on Latin America. Her views of the realities we face are of great moment and should be reviewed by all who serve in this body.

The article follows:

IGNORANCE ABOUNDS IN POPULATION POSITION (By Georgie Anne Geyer)

What factor, along with social injustice, is the cause of the peculiarly savage slaughter in El Salvador? It is its terrible population pressure, with El Salvador having as many people per square mile (500 plus) as does India.

Why is India building a 1,200-mile wall between its crowded state of Assam and Bangladesh? Because of Bangladesh's 80 million-plus people insanely crowded into 55,000 square miles.

Why is the Iran-Iraq war so particularly murderous, with probably one million killed on both sides in only 3½ years? Because the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is trying to wipe out a whole generation that knew the shah—and the ayatollah has 40 million people to do it with.

Finally, what is the Reagan administration's response to this real world out there? Well, have you visited Disneyland recently?

The special lobbies, one more graceless and inherently vicious than the other, are now getting busily into place to threaten the candidates before the election. The far right anti-birth control and anti-abortion lobbies are right in there, too.

At the behest of these groups, the White House is sending an ultra-conservative delegation to the important International Population Conference in Mexico City Aug. 6-13, a delegation that will take an unprecedented position for the United States against aiding population control in the world. Further, the new policy might go so far as to remove fully \$100 million out of the more than \$200 million that now goes to the

countries of the world for population control.

We are faced with the unedifying spectacle of a Washington that has just passed an intelligent immigration bill, then going to Mexico and telling it and the world they should not control their population!

What we have here is a fearful ignorance about the world: an ignorance that equates the very genuineness of the marketplace in the economy to a similar imagined marketplace in the creation of human beings.

At heart, U.S. conservatives think that the same thing will happen in the Third World as happened in the industrialized world—in effect, that population density will naturally subside as people progress.

In countries like Mexico, when the children were kids in a rural hut, they were a private family matter. Today, those children are masses of young adults, roaming jobless, restless, impressionable and sometimes violence-prone as they seek something out of life. Now they are a public matter in the Mexicos of the world and what an irony that, now, as Mexico struggles to deal with its population, we will travel there to deny them the means.

What we are seeing all over the world is not a replay of the United States and Europe during those years of this century when birth rates declined naturally due to individual decisions; we are seeing the sheer new inability of systems to absorb.●

ACID RAIN

HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, this week I received a letter from Mr. Curtis T. Price, executive secretary of the Pike County Chamber of Commerce regarding the acid rain dilemma facing our Nation. In my view, Mr. Price's remarks warrant the consideration of all Members of the House of Representatives:

PIKE COUNTY
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Waverly, OH, July 23, 1984.

Hon. BOB McEWEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. McEWEN: I have been reading about sulfur dioxide (SO₂) emissions and the damage being done to trees and open waters in Pennsylvania, New York and the New England states. These emissions, it is charged, originate from coal burning in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and perhaps some contiguous states. Some radical and expensive corrective measures are proposed.

I do not pretend to be an expert on this. From what I read perhaps no one is. It seems certain that we do not have adequate information on the basis of which to make judgments and decisions.

This soft coal burning has been going on all of my life (75 years) and only in the last couple of years has it been identified as an "Acid Rain" problem. Is it really a problem or is it just a bunch of loud mouth know-it-alls—or is it something in between.

I have some suspicions about this because I lived in the New York City metropolitan area for six years. I think I know "New Yorkers"—and I know something else.

I lived one block west of the Garden State Parkway and one block north of the New Jersey line. One day I got up on the ladder to paint some white siding. It was covered with a scum which had nothing to do with acid rain. It occurs to me that the scum may have some relationship to the problem we read about in Los Angeles.

All I am asking is that you go slow in placing blame and reaching decisions on solutions.

Yours very truly,

CURTIS T. PRICE,
Executive Secretary.

P.S. This letter was requested and authorized by a vote of our Board of Directors.●

TRIBUTE TO JOSEPH ANTON WALTERS

HON. ALAN WHEAT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 27, 1984

● Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, today I want to congratulate and honor a distinguished veteran of World War II, Mr. Joseph Anton Walters, of Independence.

Recently, Mr. Walters was invested as a knight in the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Knights of Malta. The ceremony was celebrated at the Yacht Club in New York City and was presided over by his Excellency, Archbishop Lorenzo Michel de Valitch, an apostolic delegate from the Vatican, grand chancellor and heir to the rich traditions of this noble order.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the Knights of Malta is long and colorful. It is enough to note that the Knights of Malta undertake as their task the defense of Christian civilization, a dedication which involves courage and self-sacrifice, a dedication which involves courage and self-sacrifice. The order seeks out and invites into its membership men of science who are still sensible, soldiers who have not lost their humanity, teachers who still teach, and thinkers who have not lost their mental acuity. It invites to the order those who reject wealth without work, pleasure without morality, science without humanity, worship without sacrifice, and politics without principle.

Mr. Speaker, Joseph Walters is to be commended for being received into this distinguished Order of Knights. His fellow knights see in him a quality of resourcefulness and self-sufficiency that few men possess. These qualities were tested early in his life and have grown through the decades.

He was a lead scout in the 163d Regiment, 41st Infantry Division in World War II. As a teenager, he was awarded a Bronze Star for Valor for his courageous actions on Biak Island, Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines Islands.

Mr. Walters was seriously wounded by grenade fragments while attacking an enemy position on Jolo Island, Sulu Archipelago during the fighting. However, he managed to guide three badly wounded soldiers to a battalion aid station a mile away from the fighting before he collapsed. His bravery earned him the Bronze Star for Valor. "On numerous occasions," the citation reads:

He volunteered for dangerous missions of reconnaissance with combat patrols. As a lead scout, he displayed aggressiveness and exceptional courage which saved his comrades many casualties and many certain defeats. For much of the war, his comrades-at-arms considered him a one-man army.

The citation also credits him with killing 18 enemy troops, thereby saving the lives of many of his fellow soldiers. The citation concludes by

saying that the "courageous actions of Joseph A. Walters has won him the praise of all men in his company and clearly distinguished him" above other men.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer my best wishes to a fellow Missourian and to a new Knight in the Order of the Knights of Malta, Joseph A. Walters. ●